

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE HYMNS OF SAINT HILARY OF
POITIERS IN THE CODEX ARETINUS
An Edition, with Introduction, Translation
and Notes

WALTER NEIDIG MYERS

A THESIS

IN LATIN

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA

1928

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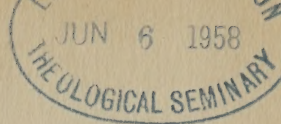
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Hilary, d. 367?

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PREFACE

In recent years the ancient and medieval devotional treasures of the Church have received some measure of the attention which they deserve. In the department of Latin hymnology, Blume and Dreves have collected into the *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* the texts of sacred compositions, many of which would otherwise be difficult of access.

The authentic songs of the first Christian Latin hymn-writer were supposed to be lost, until in 1884 Gamurrini announced the discovery of three fragments of them contained in a MS. in Arezzo, Italy. In 1887 he published a text, introduction, brief critical notes, and a facsimile of the first page of the hymns in the MS. His readings were very faulty, and he made many intentional, unrequired changes. Dreves' edition in 1888 contained an improved text, but without a fresh inspection of the MS. His accompanying paper consisted of a discussion of the authorship and contents of the hymns. In 1904 Mason, also, published an attempted revision of the text without a new examination of the MS. He used Gamurrini's facsimile which extends as far as line 31 of the first fragment, but after that he used Gamurrini's reading of the MS. With the exception of the text, Mason's edition is valuable, in that it establishes beyond question the Hilarian authorship of the fragments, and cites numerous parallels from the author's genuine prose works. A few useful notes on interpretation also appear. Walpole collated the text of the MS. in the same year and sent his corrections of Gamurrini's readings to Mason. In 1907 an improvement of Dreves' text of 1888 with a brief introduction and critical apparatus appeared in the *Analecta Hymnica* (vol. 50). Meyer was the first to establish the correct metrical basis for the hymns, which he incorporated in an article published in 1909. In connection with his discussion of the meter he gives a readable text, and a critical apparatus made from the readings of the MS., Gamurrini, Dreves, and Mason. His notes consist of a very few brief statements of interpretation, and citations from other works of S. Hilary as parallels. A summary of the contents of each fragment follows. Lietzman in 1910 reprinted Meyer's

text with a very few minor changes, chiefly of punctuation, but his edition has no independent value. In 1911 Buzna published a text made from the readings of various editors, an introduction, and discussion of the meter. His very valuable notes consist almost entirely of parallels from S. Hilary's prose works. He has no critical apparatus. In 1913 Feder embodied the work of all his predecessors except Buzna and with a few additions in an article, which was followed in 1916 by an edition of the text in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Some afterthoughts he published in his *Epilegomena* in 1919, since which time nothing new on this subject has appeared.

Heretofore no translation and completely annotated edition of the genuine hymns of S. Hilary have existed. Such notes as have been written are mostly in the form of illustrative passages from S. Hilary's prose. In the absence of such an edition, some contribution of this sort to the study of the ancient hymns has seemed desirable. The present editor has aimed to include in the notes such help as is most necessary for the elucidation of S. Hilary's thought. Whatever seemed valuable in the notes of earlier commentators has therefore been included, with due acknowledgment, though most of the material in this section is new. The text represents a new inspection of the MS. The apparatus criticus is based on that of Feder, but corrects errors, fills omissions, and includes the readings adopted by Buzna. The subtlety of the themes, especially that of the first hymn, has restrained the editor from attempting anything more than a literal rendering. The word-index includes both accepted and rejected emendations as well as all the readings of the MS. Valuable assistance has been obtained through the word-indexes of editions of many of the authors cited in the notes, and through Young's *Analytical Concordance to the Bible* (New York, 1910).

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Liber I ad Constantium	
De Trinitate	(De Trin.)
De Synodis	(De Syn.)
Liber II ad Constantium	
Contra Constantium Imperatorem	
Tractatus in Psalmos	(In Psalm.)
(The introduction is called Instructio Psalmorum.)	
Contra Auxentium	
Tractatus Mysteriorum	(Tract. Myst.)
Hymni (in the Codex Aretinus)	(By number and line, as I 1)
Hymnum dicat (of dubious authenticity)	
Fragmenta Historica = Collectanea Antiariana Parisina	

INTRODUCTION

THE AREZZO MANUSCRIPT

Gamurrini announced in 1884 his discovery of a MS., now known as Codex Aretinus Latinus VI 3, in the Library of the Confraternity of S. Mary at Arezzo, Italy. This is a parchment codex, apparently belonging to the middle of the eleventh century, written in Beneventine-Casinensian letters, and containing 37 leaves or 74 pages. A description, with an account of its history, is given by Gamurrini in his edition (Introd. pp. ix-xiv); see also Feder, *Studien* 3, pp. 16-22; 28-35; 80-81.

The first twenty-six surviving pages and part of the twenty-seventh contain a large portion of the lost *Tractatus Mysteriorum* of S. Hilary of Poitiers; on pp. 27-30 the fragments of the lost *Liber Hymnorum* of the same author are preserved. The remaining forty-four pages of the codex really constitute a different MS., and contain the remains of the *Sanctae Silviae Peregrinatio*.

Of the hymns the first page only is reproduced in facsimile in Gamurrini's edition.

The first and second hymns are abecedaries. The last 17 verses of the first and the first 10 verses of the second are missing, owing to the loss of 2 leaves of the quaternion of the codex at this place. The original number of lines of the first was 94 and of the second 46. Only 28 lines and a part of the 29th survive in the third hymn, and it is impossible to tell how many lines followed. Likewise, we have no means of knowing what stood between the first and second hymns. For a reconstructed index of the contents of the part of the codex containing S. Hilary's works, see Feder's edition, *Praef.* xix.

THE LIFE OF S. HILARY

The date of birth of S. Hilary¹ is unknown. S. Hieronymus² tells us that he was Bishop of Poitiers in Gaul, and he seems

¹ His other names are likewise unknown.

² *Viri Illus.* 100.

to have held that office for some time before 355.³ There he distinguished himself by his zealous championship of the Athanasian view of the Trinity, and he has been styled "the Athanasius of the West".⁴ His Arian opponents secured his exile to Phrygia in 356,⁵ where he evidently had the opportunity of observing the influence of the hymns sung in the Arian worship. He returned to Poitiers in 360,⁶ having written the *De Trinitate* in exile. Most of his works are assigned by De Labriolle⁷ to the twelve years between the beginning of his exile and his death in 367. Fortunatus has written a *Vita Sancti Hilarii* and a *Liber de Virtutibus Sancti Hilarii*, as well as a poem in his honor (*Carm.* 2.15).

S. HILARY AS A HYMN-WRITER AND THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE HYMNS IN THE AREZZO MS.

S. Hieronymus, who was about twenty-five years of age when S. Hilary died, designates the Bishop of Poitiers as the composer of a *liber hymnorum et mysteriorum alius*.⁸ S. Isidore of Seville, in the middle of the seventh century, calls him the first prominent hymn-writer.⁹ The Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 ascribes to him hymns in *laudem Dei atque apostolorum et martyrum triumphos*.¹⁰ S. Hilary himself, in a passage in his *Commentary on the Psalms*,¹¹ stresses the pedagogic and missionary values of hymns in the Services. S. Hieronymus¹² says: *Cum et Hilarius, Latinae eloquentiae Rhodanus, Gallus ipse et*

³ De Syn. 91: *Fidem Nicaenam numquam nisi exsulaturus audivi.*

⁴ Teuffel 3. § 418.

⁵ Through the Synod of Béziers; cf. note 2.

⁶ Sulp. Sev., *Chron.* 2.45.4.

⁷ Table 4.

⁸ *Viri Illus.* 100.

⁹ De Eccles. Offic. 1.6 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 83.743): *Hilarius autem Gallus episcopus Pictaviensis, eloquentia conspicuus, hymnorum carmine floruit primus.*

¹⁰ Acta. Conc. Tolet. 4. Can. 13 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 84.371): *Nonnulli hymni humano studio in laudem Dei atque apostolorum et martyrum triumphos compositi esse noscuntur, sicut hi, quos beatissimi doctores Hilarius atque Ambrosius ediderunt.*

¹¹ In Psalm. 65.4: *Audiat orantis populi consistens quis extra ecclesiam vocem, spectet celebres hymnorum sonitus et inter divinorum quoque sacramentorum officia responsionem devotae confessionis accipiat.*

¹² Comm. in Gal. 1.2 praef.

Pictavis genitus, in hymnorum carmine Gallos indociles vocet. This passage would seem to mean that he had tried and failed to teach the Gauls the singing of hymns.¹³

The discussion of the authenticity of the hymns in the Arezzo MS. must take into account the foregoing external evidence that S. Hilary was a hymn-writer. To this we add the witness of the MS.: *Finit tractatus mysteriorum S. Hylarii episcopi . . . Incipiunt hymni eiusdem*, noting that the close connection with the *Tractatus Mysteriorum* agrees with the statement of S. Hieronymus.

We may thus sum up the internal evidence for Hilarian authorship presented by Mason: In the first hymn the theology is precisely that of S. Hilary's great work on the Trinity. Many constructions, as well as favorite words and phrases, are similar to those found in his prose writings, and the style of the hymn corresponds as closely to that of the *De Trinitate* as can be expected in poetry. The question arises whether the heading in the MS. applies to the other two fragments also. In these we find the same freedom in the treatment of the meter which characterizes the structure of the first hymn. Their style, constructions, phrases and favorite words closely resemble the same particulars both of the first hymn and of S. Hilary's genuine prose works. Furthermore, the second fragment is an abecedary like the first.

This evidence leaves little, if any, doubt that we have here the remains of the long-lost hymn-book of S. Hilary. The probable date of its composition was the period after his return from exile, that is, between the years 360 and 367.

HYMNS WRONGLY OR DOUBTFULLY ASCRIBED TO S. HILARY

In either MSS., printed works, or both, the following poems have frequently been assigned to S. Hilary of Poitiers: (1) *Deus Pater ingenite*, (2) *In matutinis surgimus*, (3) *Iam meta noctis*,

¹³ Mason (p. 413) thought it meant that S. Hilary described the Gauls in one of his hymns as difficult to teach; but then, if that hymn were meant to be sung, they would, in singing it, be chanting the confession of their own ignorance.

(4) *Iesus refulsit omnium*, (5) *Iesu quadragenariae*, (6) *Beata nobis gaudia*, (7) *Lucis Largitor splendide*, (8) *Ad caeli clara*, (9) *Hymnum dicat*, (10) *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, (11) *Te Deum*; also a few other hymns or songs.¹⁴ The ascription of the first three hymns to S. Hilary is due to the error of H. A. Daniel¹⁵ in reading a statement of an earlier editor. The next three were first assigned to S. Hilary by G. Fabricius,¹⁶ but without any apparent reason. Although most of the codices which contain the *Lucis Largitor splendide* ascribe it to S. Hilary of Poitiers, it is strikingly unlike those hymns of his which Gamurrini brought to light, and is generally rejected on internal evidence. A similar rejection has befallen the *Ad caeli clara*, the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, the *Te Deum*, and two *carmina* known as *De Evangelio* and *In Genesim*. As for the *Hymnum dicat*, editors and authors are divided on the question of Hilarian authorship. For this ascription we have the authority of four MSS., and the poem is twice mentioned as S. Hilary's by Hincmar of Rheims in the ninth century. The meter is the same as that of the third hymn in the Arezzo MS., and in other respects it bears some resemblances to that poem. Certain reasonable objections have been raised, however.¹⁷ Brief statements of its authorship in several Irish MSS. make it possible that S. Hilary of Poitiers is confused with Hilarius of Arles (401-449 A. D.). Bede (died 735) mentioned the hymn, but did not give the name of the composer, as he probably would have done, had he known it as the work of S. Hilary. The expression *turba fratrum* has led some to believe that the hymn was composed for monastic use; and these commentators say that monks were not known in S. Hilary's time. Feder concludes that the hymn can be ascribed to S. Hilary of Poitiers with great probability, although not with absolute certainty.¹⁸

¹⁴ For an exhaustive discussion of the question of authenticity of each of these, with a bibliography, see Feder, *Studien* 3, 55-80.

¹⁵ *Thesaurus Hymnologicus* I, Leipsic, 1841, 2-3.

¹⁶ *Poetarum Veterum Ecclesiasticorum Opera Christiana*, Basileae, 1564, 792, 795, 800.

¹⁷ Feder, *Studien* 3, 75-80.

¹⁸ The first three of these hymns are found in *Anal. Hym.* 27 (1897). 71 and 102; the next three *ibid.* 51 (1908). 51, 58, 97; *Lucis Largitor splendide*

DICTION AND GRAMMAR

In the hymns of the Arezzo MS. are found various features of diction and syntax more or less characteristic of, or peculiar to, S. Hilary. The following list aims to classify these points, and to catalogue all examples in these hymns of the phenomena cited. A full discussion of each is found in the notes.

1. NOUNS. GENERAL USES

- a. Abstract for a concrete substantive.

Ortus for Filius I 44.

- b. Plural of a fifth-declension noun, especially rare in the oblique cases, also used occasionally in S. Hilary's prose works.
spebus (ablative) II 31.

- c. Frequent use of Greek common nouns, as in his prose works.

angelus II 43, III 13; chorus II 43; (h)ymnus Proem. 2, I 10, II 43;
organum Proem. 1; patriarcha II 38; pompa II 15; propheta
Proem. 1.

2. ACCUSATIVE

Accusative of the person instead of the indirect object.

Christum credidi II 31.

3. PRONOUN

Peculiar form.

ipsud for ipsum I 52 (a very rare form, which appears not to be used elsewhere in S. Hilary).

4. ADJECTIVES

- a. Adjectives in *-bilis*, very frequent in his prose works.
incompactibilis I 46; innascibilis I 15.

- b. Late meaning.

credulus I 22 ("believing", "faithful"; the classical meaning is
"easy of belief", "credulous").

ibid. 51.9; Ad caeli clara *ibid.* 50 (1907). 148-150; Hymnum dicat *ibid.* 51. 264-265. The Gloria in excelsis Deo and Te Deum are very conveniently found in the present Roman Missal and Breviary. De Evangelio and In Genesim are in C.S.E.L. 23.270-274 and 231-239.

5. ADVERBS

a. Fondness for *semper* in certain expressions denoting the "eternity of the Father" and the "eternity of the Son", which are also very common in his prose works.

semper Nate, semper ut est Pater I 2, ("Thou Who art ever the Son, as He is ever the Father").

b. *extra* = *plus*.

extra quam capere potest mens humana I 17-18.

6. PREPOSITIONS

a. *in* with the accusative to denote motion toward a goal with *gigni*, *nasci*, etc. Very common in his prose works, but peculiar to S. Hilary.

genitus est in Deum I 20 ("was begotten into Godhead"); in unigenam ediderit Deum I 28; *gigni* in alterum I 31; *gigneret* in Deum I 50.

b. *in* with the accusative to denote purpose, a construction common in Eccl. Latin.

constitutus in cunctorum exordia I 62 ("appointed for the beginnings of all things").

c. *in* with the accusative for the simple accusative.

in altos scandam caelos II 29.

d. *in* with the ablative for the simple ablative of association.

alterque cum sit mixtus in altero I 54 ("since the One is mingled with the Other").

e. *in* with the ablative to denote the personal agent, as *ἐν* with the dative in Greek, a usage common in Eccl. Latin.

Satanas est Adam victus in novo III 3 ("Satan was defeated by the new Adam").

f. *in* with the ablative to denote the cause, as *ἐν* with the dative in Greek, a frequent construction in Eccl. Latin.

hic dilectus, in quo mihi complacet III 24 ("this is My beloved Son, in Whom I am well pleased").

g. *penes* with the accusative to denote the "mutual indwelling" of the Persons of the Holy Trinity. This usage seems peculiar to S. Hilary.

quem penes sit Pater dignus Filius I 19-20 ("the Son is worthy of the Father's presence in Him"); <quem> penes est Pater I 60 ("dwelling in Whom is the Father").

h. *per* with the accusative for *ab* with the ablative of personal

agent, a usage for which S. Hilary shows a special fondness.

per eum omnia facta sunt I 66.

i. Preposition used to connect two nouns where motion is not implied.

Christum in carne Proem. 2 (= Christum qui est in carne).

7. VERBS. GENERAL USES

a. Simple for the compound verb, common in the poets.

orare for adorare I 16; sequi for persequi I 60.

b. Greek verbs, frequently used in Eccl. Latin.

psallo II 44; zelo II 45.

8. SUBJUNCTIVE

Quod and the subjunctive are used in place of the infinitive with subject accusative in indirect statement, a construction which is common in Late Latin.

quomodo dici, quod Pater sit, potest? I 3-4 ("how can it be said that He is Father?"); cernit tamen is, quod Iohannes paenitentiam praedicet III 19 ("yet he seeth that John preacheth repentance").

9. INFINITIVES

a. Infinitive with *arduum*, a usage found several times in his prose works, but rare in other authors.

scire non est arduum I 59 ("it is not difficult to know").

b. Passive infinitive with *egere*, a very rare usage, found several times in his prose works.

nil eguit dari I 39 ("nothing needed to be given").

10. PARTICIPLES

a. Present participle used more frequently than in the classical period; 20 instances occur in the 142 lines of our hymns.

Proem. 2, I 1, 9, 10, 32, 36, 43, 63, II 13, 18, 19, 20, 30, 44, 46, III 8, 13, 20, 22, 23. See note on Proem. 2 nuntians.

b. Present participle for a finite verb, a usage common in the early hymn-writers, but not cited elsewhere in S. Hilary.

qui manens I 1 ("O Thou, Who dost exist").

c. Perfect participle used as a substantive.

Progenitus I 24 ("the Son"); falsis III 8 ("lies").

d. Perfect participle of a deponent verb used in a passive sense.

confessorum criminum remissio III 21 ("remission of sins confessed").

11. RHETORICAL FEATURES

a. Alliteration.

I 21, 57, 73-75, II 11, 13, 28, III 1-2, 14.

b. Anaphora.

gaudet (7 times) III 7-9.

c. *Cumulatio*. Very frequent in S. Hilary's prose works, generally of four members.

sputus, flagella, ictus, cassa II 16.

d. Tautology.

inter turbas, quae frequentes mergebantur.

e. Word-rhyme.

aris . . . templis . . . falsis . . . stupris III 7-8.

METER

Wilhelm Brandes and the editors before Meyer failed in a greater or lesser degree to comprehend the true metrical structure of these hymns. Mason¹ thought that quantity with S. Hilary still had some very slight influence, but that to all intents and purposes the hymns were accentual. Brandes,² too, argued that they were accentual, and to refute him Meyer wrote his lengthy article on rhythm followed by a new edition of the hymns.³ Feder followed Meyer very closely throughout, but Buzna did so only in the first hymn.

The following résumé of the metrical character of each hymn aims to list all the points of departure from classical standards.⁴

PROEMIUM

The two introductory verses consist of archaistic iambic senarii. A hiatus occurs in the second verse before the caesura: *Christum hymnis*.

¹ 422-426.

² 80-89.

³ See Bibliography.

⁴ Cf. Meyer 404ff; Buzna 49-51, 63, 68-71; Feder, *Studien* 3.84-87.

HYMN I

Gamurrini misunderstood the metrical structure of this hymn and divided it into strophes of six lines each. But the scheme is the second asclepiadean strophe, in which glyconics and lesser asclepiadeans alternate, forming tetrastichs. Twice we have two strophes bound together—G and H, M and N. The original classical form of this scheme, of which Horace, *Carmen* 1.3 is perhaps the best known example, is as follows:



Horace rarely disregards the caesura. His first two syllables always form a spondee, but elsewhere he occasionally uses a short syllable in the thesis.⁵

S. Hilary allows himself certain liberties in comparison with this classical form:

1. Eight-syllable glyconics are four times replaced by eight-syllable archaistic iambic dimeters: 51, 59, 63, 75.
2. Twelve-syllable asclepiadeans are three times replaced by twelve-syllable archaistic iambic senarii: 56, 62, 74.
3. The six-syllable first half of the asclepiadeans is nine times replaced by the five-syllable beginning of the archaistic iambic senarius: 2, 6, 42, 48, 52, 54, 58, 64, 72.
4. As to the remaining fifty-nine glyconics and asclepiadeans:
 - (a) the spondee at the beginning of the verse is twelve times replaced by a trochee: 1, 3, 25, 26, 28, 36, 37, 44, 45, 60, 65, 71;
 - (b) short syllables in the arsis are six times replaced by long syllables: *tuī* 14, *sē* 32, *ā* 41, *virtūs* 48, *sē* 60, *quī* (hiatus) 72;
 - (c) short syllables are five times replaced by syllables long by position: *Patēr sit* 4, *penēs sit* 19, *decūs gloriæ* 27, *ut incorruptibilis* 46, *duobūs cum* 56; here probably belong also *Deūs'st* 30 and *quibūs'st* 49;
 - (d) short syllables stand in the thesis: *ut incorporeo* 23, *grande loquimur* 25, *gēnitūs* 61; final syllables: *genitē* 5, *capere* 17, *aeternūs* 46;

⁵ Cf. Feder, *Studien* 3.84, on which the following discussion is based, but with numerous changes and additions.

final syllables before *h*: *dederit habens* 36, *aliud habens* 43; final syllables before the caesura: *omnigena* 12, *maneât* 16, *unigenam* 28, *dederit* 34, *sit* 38, *eum* 66.

Note: *hoc* 45 is for *hocc*, hence long. See Bennett, *Lat. Lang.* § 109, 2 and 191, 2c.

5. Both elisions and hiatus occur:

- (a) elisions: 6, 7, 15, 20 (*genitus'st*), 23, 28, 30 (*Deus'st*), 30, 32, 44, 49 (*quibus'st*), 52, 58, 61, 62, 64 (= 16 times);
- (b) hiatus: *verum, ut* 26, *se, ut* 32, *natae eguit* 39, *mirum hoc* 45, *duum unitas* 53, *qui eras* 72 (= 6 times); in the caesura: *unigenam ediderit* 28, *nutum attonitus* 58, *eum omnia* 66, *regem et* 74 (= 4 times).

6. In 44 and 51 read *unigena*.

Hence twenty-eight of the seventy-five verses accord with classical usage, except for elision and hiatus: 7–11, 13, 15, 18, 20–22, 24, 29, 31, 33, 35, 39, 40, 47, 50, 53, 55, 57; 67–70, 73.

HYMN II

Gamurrini divided this second abecedary hymn into strophes of four lines each, in spite of the elision in v. 12. Mason regarded the lines as iambic senarii, and grouped them in pairs. He thought⁶ that in this and the third hymn the dominion of accent over quantity was unchallenged, observing that the only places where accent and ictus do not always agree are the first and last foot of the iambic, and that the disagreement gives variety. But as Meyer demonstrated, both are quantitative hymns, and II is composed of so-called archaistic iambic senarii.⁷ The general rule is that each thesis (except the final syllable, of course) should be long, while each of the first five arses may also be long. In the thirty-six surviving verses only six of one hundred eighty theses are short (final syllables are not included); three first theses: *Deus inferno* 18, *tremât et alti* 22, *Xristé reversus* 41 (*Deus* and *Xristé* perhaps are accented as the Greek *Θεός* and *Χριστός*); one second thesis *renata sum* — o 33; and also *Phlégethon* 20 and *Sátanas* 45.

⁶ 428.

⁷ Lane 2585; Lindsay 269. But Buzna (63) is inclined to think that the meter is accentual.

The numbers of long and short arses for the several places in the line are as follows: 1st, 23 long, 13 short; 2nd, 11 long, 25 short; 3rd, 27 long, 9 short; 4th, 26 long, 10 short; 5th, 22 long, 14 short; 6th, always short.

Elision occurs seven times: 12, 16, 17, 26, 27, 33, 40; hiatus three times: *sum—o vitae* 33, *me in morte* 45, *flagella, ictus* 16 (in the caesura). The caesura occurs in the third foot except in v. 33, where it is at the end of the second.

As for word endings, a trisyllable ends the verse seventeen times, and a monosyllable followed by a dissyllable twelve times; only once do we find a dissyllable without a preceding monosyllable: *pallidae Stygis* 19. Five verses end with a four-syllable word, but of these five words three follow an elision: 16, 27, 33.

HYMN III

Each verse of the last hymn is, according to Meyer,⁸ a quantitative archaistic trochaic septenarius (trochaic tetrameter catalectic).⁹ Twenty-eight complete verses and the greater part of the twenty-ninth survive.

Verses 11–12 and 23–24 contain quotations from Scripture and are rather exceptional in their meter. In these verses hiatus is admitted three times: *Deo audit* 11, *pacem hominum* 12, *audite! Hic* 24; a short syllable occurs in the thesis six times: *Déo* 11, *in excelsis* 11, *ét in* 12, *vóluntatis* 12, *méus* 23, *míhi* 24.

In the remaining twenty-four septenarii the poet follows the rule of the old Latin trochee, according to which the second, fourth, and sixth theses are not formed by the final syllable of a spondaic word or word-ending.¹⁰

The following liberties occur besides those mentioned above for vv. 11–12 and 23–24:

1. A long syllable may stand in the first six arses.
2. Six times resolution of a long thesis occurs, in such manner that the two short syllables either form an independent word or are the two syllables next to the end of a word: *consülüs* 5, *sánie* 7, *hómīnum* 12, *pöpülis* 15, *tämēn* 19, *hómīnem* 25.

⁸ Mason (428) and Buzna (68–71) consider the meter accentual.

⁹ Lane 2629, 2630.

¹⁰ Feder, Studien 3.86; Buzna 69.

3. Excluding the final thesis, six theses are short: *Sātanās* 3, *dūm exultat* 10, *nīhil ultra* 18, 26, *āquis* 20, *quōd Adae* 25.
4. Hiatus occurs four times: *russum Adam* 2, *dum exultat* 10; and in the caesura: *gloriosae et* 1, *Condītorem ignorari* 9.
5. Elision occurs seven times: *saeculorum et* 4, *toto in* 5, *spei humanae existimat* 6, *commune est* 18, *vocem e* 23, *legi originem* 27.

Meyer and Feder preferred two caesurae, one after the second arsis, the other after the fourth; Gamurrini and Buzna only one—after the fourth arsis—which seems to give the line a smoother flow. The strict verse-structure produces the harmony of quantitative ictus and prose accent except in *in novó* 3 and *Adaé* 25.

As Mason points out,¹¹ this hymn is important because of the influence that was exerted by its meter over subsequent writers. Metrically the poem is the direct parent of Prudentius' magnificent hymn,

Corde natus ex Parentis ante mundi exordium;
of Venantius Fortunatus' hymn,

Pange, lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis;
and, through the latter, of S. Thomas Aquinas' great sequence,
Pange, lingua, gloriosi corporis mysterium.

LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS

The remains of S. Hilary's hymn-book are obviously too scant for a fair estimate of the literary worth of the whole, but it is evident that the fragments which survive in the Arezzo MS., when they are compared with classical poetry and even with the hymns of subsequent writers, do not rank very high. So far as we know, S. Hilary had no Latin predecessors to serve as models, and he was, as his prologue implies, a second David, attempting to introduce a new art into Western worship.

The choice of subject in the first hymn made any great literary excellence almost impossible. The song is entirely didactic, and the poet constantly repeats in varying form his central idea, which is the relation of the Son to the Father, in order to impress this truth upon the worshippers. His selection of an

¹¹ 428.

elaborate Horatian meter as the vehicle of such a theme was perhaps unfortunate. The length of the hymn evidently much impaired its success. It is doubtful whether even with the aid of the abecedary device, probably borrowed from certain of the psalms, the congregation could learn so long and difficult a hymn, in the days when hymn-books were not used by the worshipers. Strophes C and D make it clear that the hymn was intended for actual liturgical use, but we cannot tell whether any congregation so employed it. In spite of its intricate and tedious form, a few traces of poetic feeling appear.

Felix, qui potuit fide

res tantas penitus credulus assequi (21-22)

is a Vergilian thought, imitated by a later hymn-writer.

Kara Progenies Dei

connatum cui sit omne decus Patris! (37-38)

both contains an echo of Vergil and adds a thought of fitting dignity.

Lumen fulsit a Lumine

Deusque verus substitit ex Deo

vero (41-43)

expresses in true poetic form a thought contained in the Nicene Creed. The theme of 63-64:

Condensque primum saecula

aeternum in motum tempora protulit,

is found in later poets. And certainly there is no doubt that the lines

Te cunctis Dominum modis,

caelorum Regem et caelestis gloriae (73-74)

have a stateliness quite the equal of anything in later hymns.

The simplicity of thought and style of the second fragment is in marked contrast with the elaborate and involved nature of the first hymn. The meter is simple and the thought is always completed within the couplet. The theme of the Resurrection of our Lord and of the Body offers much greater possibilities for poetic expression, and S. Hilary has to some extent succeeded in grasping them. This is a song of triumph,

Ibat triumpho morte absumpta, Mors, tua

Deus inferno vinci regno nesciens (17-18),

and of joy,

Ymnos perennes angelorum cum choris
in hoc resurgens laeta psallam corpore (43-44).

Noteworthy is the use of the old pagan terms for and descriptions of Hades, so common in subsequent hymns. Like the first hymn, the second is also an abecedary, and perhaps is too long for liturgical use. But it has without question more poetic feeling than either the first or the third fragment.

By reason of the meter, Mason considers that in the third hymn S. Hilary achieved a real success. It seems to be the first in which trochaic lines are grouped in strophes of three, an arrangement which makes a stirring form of verse. The influence of this has reached Prudentius, Venantius Fortunatus, and through the latter even S. Thomas Aquinas. The hymn was presumably intended to include the threefold Temptation of Christ and His victory over Satan. When we observe that it has only reached the preparations for the first Temptation at v. 29, we may infer that the poem was of considerable length. The thought is generally simple, but the style somewhat more prosaic than in the second fragment. A noticeable feature is the striking combination of anaphora and word-rhyme in vv. 7-8.

Our opinion of the shortcomings of S. Hilary's venture in sacred song was probably the estimate also of his own age. It was necessary that hymns which were to succeed should be adapted to the worshipers both in thought and in length. S. Hilary's hymns are too difficult for congregational use. It is not surprising, then, to find antiquity generally considering S. Ambrose (S. Aug., Conf. 9.7) the father of liturgical hymnody in the West, nor is it strange that his and not S. Hilary's hymns became a model for centuries to come.

CONTENTS OF THE HYMNS

The first hymn of the Arezzo MS. is an abecedary dealing with the relation of the Son Jesus Christ to God the Father in the mystery of the Holy Trinity. It is addressed to Christ. The extant lines do not deal with the Holy Spirit and His work, and in this they are in close harmony with the books of the De Trinitate, where the third Person of the Holy Trinity is not emphasized.

The second hymn, likewise an abecedary, deals with the Resurrection of Christ, the soul's rebirth by Holy Baptism and the Resurrection of the Dead. It is put in the words of a soul reborn in Baptism, not in those of a woman, as Gamurrini wrongly said in his Introduction. Lines 11-40 are addressed to Death, lines 41 to 46 are a prayer to Christ.

The third and last hymn describes the temptations of Christ by Satan. The extant portion includes the Birth and Baptism of our Lord, and the preparations of Satan for the trial. The lost portion doubtless contained the threefold temptation and the victory of the Son of God over Satan.

SIGLA

A = Codex Aretinus VI 3 s. XI.

Buz = Buzna.

Dre = Dreves, in *Analecta Hymnica* 50 (1907). 3-9.

Eng = Conjecture of August Engelbrecht sent to Feder in a letter.

Fed = Feder in C. S. E. L. 65.209-216.

Gam = Gamurrini.

Mas = Mason.

Mey = Meyer.

An asterisk (*) in the text represents a lacuna.

The text represents the reading of A, unless otherwise noted.

In the notes the following abbreviations, as well as some of the above, appear in parentheses after certain quotations to indicate that they have been given by earlier editors also:

B. = Buzna.

F. = Feder, in various works (see the Bibliography).

Q. = Quillacq.

EX LIBRO HYMNORUM SANCTI HILARII QUAE RESTANT

Felix propheta David primus organi
in carne Christum hymnis mundo nuntians.

Finit tractatus mysteriorum Sancti Hylarii episcopi ab Adam usque ad Noe, deinde Abraae, Ysaac, Iacob, Moysi, et Oseae prophetae, et Heliae. Incipiunt hymni eiusdem. *A Sequuntur prooemii instar duo versus* Felix — nuntians. *Numeros I. II. III. pos. Myers.* Prooem. 2. ymnis *A Mey Buz Fed* hymnis *Gam Dre Mas*.

Proem. 1. *felix*: this word originally meant "productive", as shown in A. Walde, Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch² 280. Cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 92. 10 (Müller): Felices arbores Cato dixit, quae fructum ferunt, infelices quae non ferunt. Forcellini, Lex., quotes Isidor. (Differ. 1. 72), who thus states the distinction between *beatus* and *felix*: Beatus sibi tantum est, felix et aliis, ut est illud Vergilianum: "Sis felix, nostrumque leves, quaecumque, laborem". To this we may add another example from Vergil (Ecl. 5.65): Sis bonus, o, felixque tuis. Hence the word sometimes equals *secundus*, *utilis*, "that which or that one who makes others happy", as here in our prologue. The word is used because David, a pioneer in sacred song among the Hebrews, by his great achievements inspired writers in other lands and in later ages. Intransitively *felix* may mean "being happy"; cf. Cic., Phil. 2.26: Caesar Alexandria se recepit, felix, ut sibi quidem videbatur: mea autem sententia, qui rei publicae sit infelix, felix esse non potest (quoted by Forcellini), where *felix* has the intransitive sense and *infelix* the transitive sense. Thus *felix* is intransitive in I 21* and 53. Isidor., Etym. 10.97 thus sums up the meaning of the word: Felix dicitur, qui felicitatem dat; felix, qui accipit; et felix per quem datur felicitas, ut "felix tempus, felix locus". Cf. Doederlein, Lat. Synon., tr. Arnold 78.

1. *propheta* is used by the Church writers instead of the classical *vates* and *divinus* to denote a Hebrew prophet. S. Hilary, like other Christian authors, makes free use of Greek words in his prose works as well as in these hymns. See Quillacq 26–30, 31, 39–40, 46, and 80 for instances in the prose works.

1. *Dāvid*: Hebraic, especially Biblical, names taken into Latin are usually indeclinable, but sometimes they show a full or partial set of inflected forms in addition. See Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre der Lat. Sprache³ 1.871–884.

1. *primus*: I have construed this word as predicate nominative with

* Note: Roman numerals followed by Arabic numerals such as these refer to hymns and line numbers in the Arezzo MS.

PROEMIUM

A blessing was the prophet David, the first to announce Christ in the flesh to the world with hymns accompanied by the organ.

nuntians, following Mason (422). Meyer (402) thought *primus propheta organi* were to be taken together. An argument for his view might be the word order, but to my mind *organi* taken with *hymnis* v. 2. makes better sense.

1. *organi*: ὄργανον, from which our word "organ" is derived, denoted an instrument of any sort, but was more particularly applied to musical instruments. The first reference in the Holy Scriptures to an organ as a musical instrument is in Genesis 4.21: And his brother's name was Jubal: he was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ. An organ of this kind is mentioned again, also in connection with stringed instruments, in Job 21.12: They take the timbrel and harp and rejoice at the sound of the organ; and 30.31: My harp also is turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of them that weep. So too, in Psalm 150.4 we read, Praise him with the timbrel and dance: Praise him with stringed instruments and organs. S. Hilary, In Psalm. 136.4 quotes v. 2: In salicibus in medio eius suspendimus organa nostra, from which it is clear that the organ meant was portable, and probably a mouth instrument or set of Pandean pipes. The organ of Jubal is termed in the O. T. in Hebrew *uggab* or *ugab*, which meant "a lute" or "flute" according to Young, Concordance to the Bible, 723. See Hopkins and Rimbault, The Organ³, London, 1877, 1-4.

For *organum* defined as various authors knew the instrument in their day, see S. Aug. (anno 354-430), In Psalm. 56.16; Cassiod. Senat. (circiter anno 487-583), In Psalm. 150; Isidor. (circiter anno 570-636), Etymol. 3.21 (Du Cange). S. Hil., Instructio Psalmorum 19, discussing artis musicae quattuor genera, uses *organum* several times; cf. Psalmus est, cum cessante voce pulsus tantum organi concinentis auditur, etc. Prudentius thus speaks of the instrument in Apoth. 389-391:

Organa disparibus calamis quod consona miscent . . .
Christum concelebrat.

2. *in carne*: I have construed these words with *Christum*, though Meyer (402) prefers to take them with *David*. The use of two nouns connected by a preposition other than one implying motion is rather characteristic of Late Latin. Cf. In Psalm. 2.6: Dei Filium in corpore cernentes et audientes. According to the classical construction we should expect here *Christum qui est in carne*, or *Christum esse in carne*.

2. *hymnis*: from ὕμνος, "a song of praise". For definitions of its meaning, cf. S. Aug. In Psalm. 148.17: Hymnus cantus est cum laude Dei; Isidor.,

I

Ante saecula qui manens

1. manens *A Gam Dre Buz manes Mas Mey Fed.*

Etymol. 1.39.17: Hymnos primum David prophetam in laudem Dei composuisse ac cecinisse manifestum est . . . Hymni autem ex Graeco in Latinum laudes interpretantur, and 6.19.17: Hymnus est canticum laudantium, quod de Graeco in Latinum laus interpretatur, pro eo quod sit carmen laetitiae et laudis. Proprie autem hymni sunt continentes laudem Dei. Si ergo sit laus et non sit Dei, non est hymnus: si sit et laus et Dei laus et non cantetur, non est hymnus. Si ergo et in laudem Dei dicitur et cantatur, tunc est hymnus. The word is found in Lucilius ap. Non. 330.9-10. S. Hilary uses it frequently. Cf. I 10, II 43, Instruct. Psalm. 19: Canticum est, cum cantantium chorus, libertate sua utens neque in consonum organi adstrictus obsequium, hymno canorae tantum vocis exultat, and De Trin. 10.46: Desecanda colla sua percussoribus cum hymnis martyres tendunt, et aedificatos sibi congerie lignorum ignes cum canticis scandunt. Lactantius 4.8.14 has divinatorum scriptor hymnorum. It is not infrequent elsewhere in the Christian writers.

2. *nuntians*: the present participle occurs twenty times in these hymns. Its frequent use is characteristic of Ecclesiastical Latin. For *nuntio*, cf. III 14, and for the thought of the line, cf. "Hymnum dicat" 69:

Ante lucem nuntiemus Christum Regem saeculo.

Mason well says, "The little prologue to his book of hymns shows that he was conscious of the boldness of his attempt. Hilary felt that he was putting himself, like a new David, at the head of a new line of hymn-writers, to proclaim the incarnate Christ to the western world."

1. *ante saecula manens*: the extensive use of the expression *manere* in the sense of *ὑπάρχειν* and *esse* is noted by Mason as one of the outstanding characteristics of S. Hilary's style. It is evidently used by him corresponding to Phil. 2.6: *ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων*. The word occurs again in these hymns in I 14, 16, 18 and 58. Among the countless passages in S. Hilary's prose writings in which we find *manere* in this sense we may quote the following: De Trin. 4.6: Patri de substantia, qua manebat, per Filii nativitatem nihil esse decerp-tum; 7.26: Et idcirco opus Filii opus Patris est, quia nativitas nec extra naturam eam est ex qua manet, et naturam eam in se habet unde subsistit (F.); 8.53: Sed Christus non de non substantibus manet (F.); 9.14: Qui in forma Dei manebat formam servi accepit (Mas.); 12.25: Nemini . . . dubium est quin . . . nativitas manentem doceat, non etiam non manentem (Mas.); 12.36: Ne forte ante Mariam non manere existimaretur (Mas.); In Psalm. 54.18:

HYMN I

O Thou, Who dost exist before time and art ever the Son,

Sed inter ista inimici iacula imperterritus manet nobisque portum securitatis tutum fidumque demonstrans; 122.3: Sed in Dei Verbo Deus tamquam in caelo habitat, in eo scilicet, quod ex se ac suum est, manens.

This use of *manere* is not confined to S. Hilary, but is found in other Christian hymn-writers. Cf. Prud., Perist. 10.596-597:

Regem perennem Rex perennis protulit,
in se manentem, nec minorem tempore;

Sedulius, Paschal. Carmin. 1.255-256, where the pagans say:

(Deus) nec semper ubique est
nec lumen fuit ille manens in origine mundi;

Anal. Hym. 51.8 "Deus qui caeli lumen es" 32:

Casto manentes corpore;

Anal. Hym. 27.101 "Rerum Deus fons omnium" 5:

(Deus) non actibus fessus manens.

Another marked feature of S. Hilary's style is the very frequent use of the expression *ante saecula manens* to denote the eternal existence of Christ. Cf. De Trin. 6.50: Cum enim perfecta scientia sit Christum Dei Filium ante saecula manentem etiam ex Virgine nosse natum (B.); In Psalm. 2.2: Unigenitus Dei Filius ante saecula manens Deus Verbum (Weyman); 53.8: Quia Deus Dei Filius ante saecula manens . . . homo ex partu Virginis natus esset (B.); 54.2: Hic ergo assumens carnis nostrae fragilitatem et manens suus atque noster, ita agit, orat . . . ut . . . (F.); 148.4: Filium ante saecula manentem (Weyman); Tract. Myst. 1.3.4: Rursum caro, in qua Verbum ante saecula manens, quod est Filius Dei, natum sit (F.).

The reading in A is *manens*, which Gamurrini, Dreves and Buzna have preserved. Mason and Meyer, however, changed *manens* to *manes* to make the construction easier. Feder followed them in his text in the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, but restored the MS. reading in his Epilegomena. His reason for so doing was that S. Hilary in his use of *manere* in this sense shows a preference for the present participle. Cf. the above passages and De Trin. 6.35: Deus ex Deo exiens est, non creatura in Dei nomen electa; non ut esset coepit ex nihilo, sed exiit a manente (F.); 7.31: Dum Deus ex Deo manens non est aliunde (quam id) quod Deus est (F.). It is readily seen that a periphrastic may here be formed by the use of *est*, and other authors show the same usage; cf. Anal. Hym. 51.93 "Optatus votis omnium" 25-26:

Sit nobis cum caelestibus
commune manens gaudium;

semperque Nate, semper ut est Pater!—
 namque te sine quomodo
 dici, ni pater est, quod Pater sit, potest?—

Fortunatus, Carmin. Appendix 7.14:

Sic tua vita decens hoc sit in orbe manens.

For other examples see Nunn, Eccl. Latin 41. Hence Feder concluded that *qui manens* stands for *qui manens es*, which is correct. We may further strengthen his revised reading by citing similar instances in other hymns of the very common use of the present participle as an indicative: Anal. Hym. 51.8 "Deus qui caeli lumen es" 7-8:

Humectis namque flatibus

terram baptizans roribus;

11-12: Quod caeli scandens verticem

profectus ("progress") moram nesciens;

14-16: Polum caligo deserit,

typusque Christi, lucifer,

diem sopitum suscitans;

51.36 "Caeli Deus sanctissime" 5-6:

(Deus) quarto die qui flammeam

solis rotam constituens;

51.51 "Iesus refulsit omnium" 19-20:

Potens suo qui sanguine

peccata cosmi tergere.

See also the long list in the Index Grammaticae et Elocutionis, page 411 of Leo's edition of Fortunatus.

In our passage *qui manens (es)* = *tu manens* (vocative).

For the thought in line 1, cf. "Hymnum dicat" 8:

Ante saecula tu fuisti Factor primi saeculi;

Anal. Hym. 51.5.1-4:

Rex aeternae Domine

rerum Creator omnium,

qui es ante saecula

semper cum Patre Filius;

S. Johann. 1.1-5, and especially S. Johann. 8.58: Dixit eis Iesus: Amen, amen dico vobis, antequam Abraham fieret, ego sum.

2. *semperque nate*: an Hilarian expression. Cf. De Trin. 12.28: Cum (id), quod ante tempus natum est, semper est natum, quia id, quod est ante aeternum tempus, hoc semper est. Quod autem semper est natum, non admittit, ne aliquando non fuerit, quia aliquando non fuisse, iam non est semper esse (B.).

as He is ever the Father!—for how without Thee, if He is not a father, can it be said that He is Father?—

2. *semper ut est Pater* = *ut Pater semper pater est* (F.). This also is an Hilarian expression and is found in the same connection in *De Trin.* 2.6: *Habet tamen . . . naturae suae nomen in Patre, sed Pater tantum est . . . habens in se semper ut pater semper sit, soli Filio notus, quia "Patrem nemo novit, nisi Filius et cui voluerit Filius revelare"* (B.).

For the thought, also cf. *De Trin.* 12.32: *Finis igitur et fidei et sermonis et sensus est: Dominum Iesum et natum esse et semper esse . . . Aut enim non semper Pater, si non semper et Filius; quia quantum Filio temporis, ne semper filius fuerit, abnegabitur, tantum Patri deest ne pater semper sit* (B.). Almost the whole of the *De Trin.* 12 deals with the eternity of the Son. Cf. 12.23 entire, and in particular: *Ubi autem semper Pater est, semper et Filius est. Si itaque habes in cognitione vel sensu Deum, in cuius cognitionis sacramento proprium est quod Pater est, non semper Patrem esse Filii geniti, habes et in intellegentia et in scientia, non semper Filium esse qui genitus est* (B.).

S. Hilary expresses the same idea in the same language in *Comment.* in *Matth.* 16.4: *Est autem haec vera et inviolabilis fides, ex Deo aeternitatis (cui ob id quod semper Filius fuerit, semper et ius Patris et nomen sit; ne si non semper Filius, non semper et Pater sit) Deum Filium profectum fuisse, cui sit ex aeternitate Parentis aeternitas* (Weyman) . . . *Atque ita Filius et aeternus et natus est, quia non aliud in eo natum est, quod non aeternum est* (B.).

3. *namque*, etc.: for the peculiar word-order, cf. I 49: *quibus est in bonis*, I 61: *quanta est genitus in bona*, III 20: *aquis mersans in Iordanis*.

4. *ni pater est* is an idea parallel to and explaining I 3: *te sine*.

4. *dici, quod Pater sit, potest*: instead of the accusative with infinitive in indirect statement S. Hilary, like other fourth-century writers, often uses *quod* or *quia* apparently indifferently with the subjunctive or indicative. The use of *quod* according to Quillacq *s. v.* in this construction is found among early writers and has a conversational flavor; cf. Riemann, *Syntaxe latine* §172, p. 274, b, and Goelzer, *Latinité de S. Jérôme* p. 375ff. Mason notes that here *quod* is on its way to become *che* and *que* of the Romanic languages. In these hymns we also find *quod* used with the subjunctive in III 19. It is very frequent in S. Hilary's prose writings; cf. (with subjunctive) *De Trin.* 4.42: *Cum enim audit Israel quod Deus unus sit* (F.); In *Psalm.* 118.13.5: *Superius ait, quod super inimicos suos prudentior a Deo in mandatis esset effectus* (Q.); In *Matth.* 12.17: *In Christo negare quod Deus sit* (Q.); (with indicative) *De Trin.* 5.16: *Intellege quod Dominus . . . et Dominus et iustus iudex est* (Q.); In *Psalm.* 129.1: *Ex Deo hoc solum nosse quod Deus est* (Q.).

- 5 Bis nobis genite Deus,
 Christe! dum innato nasceris a Deo
 vel dum corporeum et Deum
 mundo te genuit Virgo puerpera:
 Credens te populus rogat,
 10 hymnorum resonans, mitis ut audias,

5. deus Christe *Mey.* 6. Christe dum in nato *A.* nascens *Gam.*
 10. resonans *A Gam Dre Mas Buz* resonas *Mey Fed.*

The examples given by Quillacq (106–107) would seem to indicate S. Hilary's preference for the subjunctive with *quod* in this construction. The use of *quia* is confined in S. Hilary to his prose writings. It seems to be found mostly in the Church writers. Cf. Riemann § 194, Rem. 4, p. 327. Examples in S. Hilary are In Psalm. 53.8: Non intellegentes quia hominis Filius . . . quod semper manserat, exstitisset (Q.), and De Trin. 4.22: Non propterea ignorandum esse quia Filius Dei est (Q.). Cf. Quillacq 107–108.

For the thought, cf. De Trin. 7.31: Non enim nisi per Filium Pater est (F.).

5. *bis*, i. e. first of God the Father, then of the Virgin Mary, as explained by *dum . . . vel dum*, etc., vv. 6–8.

6. The word *Christé*, as Meyer notes, seems to have been accented at times as in Greek; so too *Deús* like *Θεός*. Cf. I 46, 48, 50; II 18, 40 Dei.

6. *dum* with the indicative denotes cause here and in I 7. This use is found in Early Latin in Plaut., Trin. 1149–1150: Dum sermonem vereor interrumpere, solus sto. It appears in the classical and post-classical language and also in Late Latin. The indicative is the regular mood, but in Late Latin the subjunctive first appears. See Schmalz, Lat. Gram. § 317.4. Cf. also De Trin. 7.31: "Ego et Pater unum sumus" . . . Operibus credite, quoniam Pater in me, et ego in Patre." Quid hic non naturale ac proprium sub sacramento ("mystery") nativitatis ostensum est? Insunt sibi invicem, dum non est nisi ex Patre nativitas, dum in Deum alterum naturae vel exterioris vel dissimilis non subsistit, dum Deus ex Deo manens non est aliunde (quam id) quod Deus est; and 8.54: Dum in eo Deus est . . . dum quod ipse est, id etiam per nativitatem Dei in Deum natum est . . . quid humana sectaris?

6. *innato*: S. Hilary uses this word in the sense of "not born" to designate the eternity of God the Father. See Quillacq 56. It occurs in De Trin. 12.21: Sed tamen non omne quod aeternum est, etiam innatum est (Q.); in Tert., Adv. Hermog. 5.18: Innatus Deus annon et innata materia? and in Prud., Apoth. 244–247:

. . . Tribus his subsistat sed Deus unus,
 nec Pater ipse autem qui Filius: ut, quia Natum

O Christ, twice born for us as God! because Thou art begotten of the unbegotten God or because a parturient Virgin bore Thee for the world corporeal and divine:

Thy believing people beseech Thee, gently to hear them, as they sound forth in antiphons the notes of their hymns, which

scimus ab innato, vere Pater, et sata vere
sit Suboles.

The same idea is expressed in the Quicumque vult (Athanasian Creed) 21: Pater a nullo est factus nec creatus nec genitus; and In Psalm. 121.8: Quia Filius unigenitus ingeniti est.

6. *nascaris*: cf. Quicumque vult 22: Filius a Patre solo est, non factus nec creatus sed genitus.

7. *corporeum*: rare but classical; in general, meaning "corporeal"; most frequent in Lucretius. Cf. *natura corporea*, Lucr. 1.302-303 and 329-330. Ovid and Pliny the Elder use it in the sense of "consisting of flesh". See Thesaurus L. L. s. v. It is predicate accusative.

7. *Deum* has here the force of an adjective in the predicate accusative; cf. *corporeum*. It is used for metrical convenience instead of *divinum*.

8. *Virgo puerpera*: cf. "Hymnum dicat" 13: Virginem puerperam. The same expression occurs in Prud., Cath. 9.19 (Weyman). Prudentius also affirms his belief in the Virgin-birth in these words (Apoth. 435-437):

Ex quo mortalem praestrinxit Spiritus alvum,
Spiritus ille Deus, Deus et se corpore Matris
induit, atque hominem de virginitate creavit.

The thought in 6-8 is also given by S. Ambros., Epist. 63.49: Ex Patre solo natus ante saecula, ex Virgine sola ortus in hoc saeculo. Cf. also the Quicumque vult 31: Deus est ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitus, et homo est ex substantia matris in saeculo natus.

10. *resonans*: Meyer thinks that the MS. reading *resonans* has a rather difficult construction. *Voces*, he says, has to stand twice: (1) with *resonans*, (2) with *audias*. He therefore changes to *resonas* to make the construction easier. But we can preserve the MS. reading by placing a comma after *resonans* and another after *audias*, considering *voces* the object only of *resonans*, and understanding *se*, referring to *populus*, as the object of *audias*. In spite of the objection that *voces* is so far removed from *resonans*, it seems better to keep to the reading of the MS. We might also, perhaps less easily, consider *hymnorum* an objective genitive with *resonans*, and *voces* the object of *audias*.

Resonans here seems to mean *alternantibus choris canens*; cf. Meyer and Feder on *resonas*, and Anal. Hym. 27.74 "Alleluia piis edite laudibus" 4 ff:

- voces, quas tibi concinit
aetas omnigena, Sancte, gregis tui.
Dum te fida rogat, sibi
clemens ut maneat, plebs tui nominis
15 in te innascibilem Deum
orat, quod maneat alter in altero.

12. sancte Dre Mas Mey Buz Fed sc̄e A sancti Gam.

Hinc vos perpetui luminis accola
assumet resonans hymniferis choris
alleluia perenne.
Vos urbs eximia suscipiet Dei
quae laetis resonans cantibus excitat
alleluia perenne.

Walpole (318) gives a literal rendering of the first three lines quoted, "The dweller hard by the eternal light sounding forth in reply an endless alleluia shall receive you hence with hymn-raising choirs." If, as seems absolutely necessary, our *resonans* refers to antiphonal singing, doubtless copied from the Hebrews and Ariens, S. Hilary implies that he intended it to be used in the singing of this hymn at least, if not of the others in his collection. S. Augustine may be correct, however, when he implies (Conf. 9.7) that S. Ambrose of Milan introduced responsive chanting of hymns and psalms into the Western Church (in the year 386). For S. Hilary died about 367 and may not have lived long enough to carry out his plan. Furthermore, we have no evidence that any one of the three surviving fragments in the Arezzo MS. was ever actually sung.

10. *mitis*: cf. Anal. Hym. 50.93 "Inclitae parentis almae" 3-6:

Membra, quae labore fessa
nunc repono lectulo,
cerne mitis et benignus
atque clementissimus.

11. *concinere*: a favorite word for singing in the Christian poets. S. Hilary uses it again in I 70 and III 2. It occurs at least six times in Prudentius; cf. Perist. 14.52-53:

Ibat triumphans Virgo, Deum Patrem
Christumque sacro carmine concinens.

12. *omnigena*: Forcellini and Georges define the word as *omnis generis*, "of every sort". Hence *aetas omnigena* must mean "young and old". No parallels to this Latin expression seem to occur.

young and old of Thy flock, Holy One, sing in harmony to Thee.

While the faithful people of Thy name beseech Thee to be merciful to them, they adore in Thee the God Who cannot be born, because the One abideth in the Other.

13. *fida*: Doederlein says that *fidus* denotes a natural quality, like "trust-worthy", and *fidelis*, a moral characteristic, as "faithful", quoting Liv. 22.22.6. Forcellini *s.v.* thinks the distinction is insignificant or not observed. Here *fidus* is apparently synonymous with *credulus* I 22 and *fidelis* II 31, each of the three being used in its place for metrical convenience.

14. *maneas*: cf. *manens* I 1 and the note; also I 16, 18 and 58.

14. *plebs*: a common word in Late Latin for the whole people, here perhaps recalling the humble origin of many early Christians. Cf. Gen. 23:13: Et locutus est ad Ephron circumstante plebe; Psalm. 88.20: Exaltavi electum de plebe mea; S. Luc. 2.32: Gloriam plebis tuae Israel, *et saepe*. In I 9 and in III 15 S. Hilary uses *populus*.

15. *in* in the sense of "in the person of" is merely a figurative use of the local ablative. Cf. Bayard, Lat. de Cypr. 145, who quotes Cypr. p. 277.26 (Ed. Hartel, C. S. E. L. Vol. 3, pt. 1): Amare in illo (id) quod Pater est, timere (id) quod Deus est.

15. *innascibilem* (cf. I 44) is a word not confined to S. Hilary, but very characteristic of him. For example, Mason finds it at least 19 times in De Trin. 4 (*innascibilitas* also occurs in the same place). It is found only in Late Latin and is equivalent to ἀγέννητος. (In I 6 *innato* is used in its place for metrical reasons.) Cf. De Trin. 4.6: (Ecclesia) novit unum innascibilem Deum; In Psalm. 122.2 Deus innascibilis unigenitum Deum gignens; Tract. Myst. 2.14: Sed cognitione scripturarum posteritas indigebat . . . ut . . . non ignoraret Deum unum innascibilem, . . . non nesciret Deum unigenitum. It is found also in Tert., Adv. Valentin. 37.

S. Hilary shows a special fondness for adjectives in *-bilis*, e. g. De Trin. 4.9: *conspicabilis*; 6.4: *convertibilis*; 6.4: *divisibilis*; 6.17: *demutabilis*; 8.48: *contemplabilis*; 8.48: *formabilis*; 6.21: *impossibilis*. Quillacq (33-39) lists 41 separate adjectives of this class in S. Hilary, of which those with the prefix *im-* and *in-* are the most prominent.

16. *orat*: Feder considers that this = *adorat* and quotes De Syn. 65: Exposui, carissimi, quantum humani sermonis consuetudo patiebatur et Dominus mihi semper ut ipse scit a me oratus indulsit, communis fidei conscientiam. In this quotation *oratus* appears to make better sense when taken in the sense of *adoratus*, and the same is true of *orat* in our hymn. The *ad* seems to have an intensive force, as in *adamare*. A somewhat clearer case in S. Hilary of this simple verb used in the sense of the compound is found

- Extra quam capere potest
mens humana, manet Filius in Patre;
rursum, quem penes sit Pater,
20 dignus, qui genitus est Filius in Deum.

20. *lege* genitust *Fed* est genitus *vel* genitus't *Mey.*

in Coll. Antiar. Parisina, Series A, 6.3 (Feder, C. S. E. L. 65, pt. 4. 88): Subveni, pie imperator, Dei summi cultoribus, subveni eis qui per Christum Dei Filium Deum Patrem omnipotentem orant; subveni eis qui iudicio tuo devotas offerunt aures, qui nesciunt colere nisi Deum Patrem per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum gloriae eius Filium. Here *qui orant* evidently = *cultores* and *orare* = *colere*. Feder, in the Index of his edition, takes this *orant* also as = *adorant*.

The use of the simple for the compound verb is found frequently in classical poetry, as in Verg., Aen. 1.302-303: Ponuntque (= deponunt) ferocia Poenica. Cf. v. 60: *sequi* and the note. See also H. L. Wilson, The Use of the Simple for the Compound Verb in Juvenal, in T. A. P. A. Vol. 31 (1900), 202-222, and the same writer's paper, The Use of the Simple for the Compound Verb in Persius, in Studies in Honor of Gildersleeve, 49-55. This usage seems not so common in S. Hilary, who is, however, very fond of adverbial compounds of verbs and adjectives. Cf. Quillacq 34-38, 42-45. Sometimes these compound verbs mean little more than the simple verb, as In Psalm. 64.2: Hymnus ergo hic Deo condecet; while the Psalm itself v. 2 reads *decet*.

16. *quod*: in Eccl. Latin causal clauses introduced by *quod*, *quia* and *quoniam* may have the verb in the subjv. even when the cause is given as true on the authority of the writer or speaker. So the subjv. is used here for the classical ind. Cf. Aug., Tract. in Johann. 70: Non quod ipse (= idem) esset Pater et Filius . . . sed quod tam similes sint Pater et Filius, ut qui unum noverit, ambos noverit, also S. Luc. 5.8, and S. Johann. 2.24, all quoted in Nunn 78-79. Cf. Schmalz 541, § 300.

For the thought, cf. De Trin. 2.11: Est Filius ab eo, qui Pater est, unigenitus ab ingenito, Progenies a Parente, vivus a vivo . . . Perfectus a perfecto, quia totus a toto, non divisio aut discissio, quia alter in altero, et plenitudo divinitatis in Filio est (B.); 3.4: Non duo unus, sed alius in alio, quia non aliud in utroque ("not Two made One, yet One in the other, for that which is in Both is the same", tr. by Watson); 8.4: Inseparabilem se a Patre testatur, cum in manente in se manet Patre (F.); Anal. Hym. 51.12 "Deus, aeterni luminis" 5-7:

Tu regnum caelorum tenes
et totus in Verbo tu es,
per Filium cuncta regis.

More than the human mind can comprehend, the Son abideth in the Father; again, the Son Who was begotten into Godhead is worthy of the Father's presence in Him.

17. *extra quam*: no instances of the use of this expression elsewhere are cited except when a *si*-clause follows. *Extra* here has comparative force and = *plus*. Cf. (Pseudo-?) Hil., Coll. Antiar. Parisina, Ser. B, 1.1.2 (Feder C.S. E.L. 65, pt. 4. 98): *Ultra quam obtinent*, and Ovid, Met. 2.277–278: *Tellus (dea) infra quam solet esse fuit*.

18. *mens humana*: *gens humana* is found in a similar place in the verse in Hor., Carm. 1.3.26 (Wey.), of which our expression is perhaps a reminiscence.

On this mystery cf. De Trin. 7.31: *Filius in Patre est, et in Filio Pater*.

On the incomprehensibility of this mystery to our finite mind, cf. De Trin. 3.1: *Affert plerisque obscuritatem sermo Domini, cum dicit: "Ego in Patre et Pater in me", et non immerito. Natura enim intelligentiae humanae rationem dicti non capit, videtur namque non posse effici, ut quod in altero sit, aequè id ipsum extra alterum sit . . . Haec quidem sensus hominum non consequetur*.

19. *penes* with the acc. is classical, signifying possession. Cf. De Trin. 12.39: *Ut haec iam tunc, cum praepararetur caelum, penes Deum facta esse per id quod nihil Deo novum est, demonstraret*; 12.40: *Quia eorum (= caeli, terrae, ceterorumque elementorum) praeparatio aequabili penes Deum aeternitatis infinitate constiterat*; In Psalm. 62.3: *Deo igitur, penes quem fons vitae est, anima ipsius sitit desiderio intenta potandi*; Liber II ad Constantium 8 (C.S.E.L. 65, pt. 4. 203): *Ego enim penes me habeo fidem, exteriore non egeo: quod accepi, teneo nec demuto, quod Dei est*.

S. Hilary uses *penes* in vv. 19 and 60 to designate the mutual indwelling of the Persons of the Trinity. For this application, cf. In Matth. 31.3: *Quod is ipse est penes quem erat antequam nasceretur (F.)*.

19. *quem penes sit Pater*: a relative clause of characteristic depending on *dignus*, v. 20, the normal classical construction. See Schmalz 534, § 292.

20. *dignus*: for the thought cf. In Psalm. 129.9: *Ex similitudine gloriae alter in altero gloriosus est, gloriosus Filius, quia dignus consortio Patris sit, gloriosus Pater, digni consortio suo Filii Pater (B.)*; De Trin. 4.10: *Cum potius . . . gloriosus auctor sit, ex quo is qui tali gloria sit dignus extiterit (Mas.)*.

20. *in*: S. Hilary often uses *in* to denote motion, mostly figurative, toward a goal. Cf. Instr. Psalm. 11: *In novum hominem post peccatorum remissionem renasci (Q.)*; In Psalm. 2.39: *In has virtutes post vitia illa reviviscimus (Q.)*. See Quillacq 101. This construction he has very often in the phrase *in Deum*—cf. I 28 and In Matth. 5.15: *Homo rursus fiet in Deum*—and especially in the expression *in Deum gigni* (or *nasci*); cf. I 31 and 50, also the following:

Felix, qui potuit fide
res tantas penitus credulus assequi,
ut incorporeo ex Deo
perfectus fuerit Progenitus Dei.

24. profectus fuerit primogenitus *Gam.* dei *A Gam Dre Mas Fed*
deus *Mey Buz.*

De Trin. 4.35: Ex eo natus in Deum est (Mas.); 5.34: (Ab Arrianis Christus dicitur) non ex Deo natus in Deum, sed per creationem susceptus in Filium (Mas.); 8.52: Non est hoc itaque naturae a se alienae, neque per creationem in Deum comparatae neque ex portione Dei in Deum natae; sed perfecta nativitate in Deum perfectum genitae divinitatis; 8.53: Sed Christus vita est, ex Deo vivente in viventem Deum natus. Mason notes that the instances of this last expression are very numerous in S. Hilary, though it does not seem to occur in any other author.

21. *felix* . . . *fide*: observe the alliteration, which S. Hilary uses also I 57, 73-75, II 11, 13, 28, III 1-2 and 14.

21. *felix, qui potuit*, etc.: cf. Proem. 1: *felix* and note. Weyman, Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift, Vol. 37, 1917, p. 1172§4, calls attention to this passage as "an interesting Christian counterpart of the famous beatitude of scientific knowledge in Verg., Geo. 2.490:

Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas."

Cf. also Prud., Cath. 5.33-34:

Felix, qui meruit sentibus in sacris
caelestis solii visere Principem.

For the thought, cf. Psalm 139.6: Such knowledge is too wonderful for me; it is high, I cannot attain unto it; De Trin. 1.8: (Creator tantus) quantus et intellegi non potest, et (= sed) potest credi (Mey.); 2.9: Et si quis forte intelligentiae suae imputabit, generationis huius sacramentum ("mystery") non posse se consequi, cum tamen et Pater sit absolute intellectus et Filius, maiore istud dolore a me audiet ignorari. Et nescio, non requiro; et consolabor me tamen. Archangeli nesciunt, angeli non audierunt, saecula non tenent, propheta non sensit, apostolus non interrogavit, Filius ipse non edidit ("explain") (Mey.).

22. *credulus*: in classical writers the word is regularly used in a disparaging sense, "easy of belief", "credulous". Cf. Cic., Orat. pro Fonteio 10.23: Stultus auditor et credulus. The meaning "believing" appears first in Eccl. Latin, for which see the Thesaurus and cf. Anal. Hym. 51.299 "Sancti, venite, Christi corpus sumite" 15:

Accedant omnes pura mente creduli;

Happy is he who trusting entirely in faith hath been able to understand such mighty things, how from an incorporeal God hath come the perfect Offspring of God.

Prud., Apoth. 576-581:

Quid renuis? quid inane caput, non credule, quassas?
Angelus hoc sancto fore nuntiat ore: placetne
credere, et angelicis aurem reserare loquelis?
Ipsa coruscantis monitum sacra Virgo ministri
credidit, atque ideo concepit credula Christum:
credentes nam Christus adit.

In "Hymnum dicat" 61 the word is used as a substantive: Baptizare credulos "those who believe".

The late meaning of *credulitas* = "faith" is parallel; cf. Anal. Hym. 51.14 "Diei luce reddita" 31-32:

Sit inlibata castitas
credulitate perpeti;

Fortunatus 11.1.1: (Fides catholica) in qua et integritas credulitatis ostenditur. So too the late meaning of *incredulus* = "unbelieving"; cf. Anal. Hym. 51.98 "Iam Christus astra ascenderat" 25:

Iudaea tunc incredula,

and S. Luc. 1.17: Ut convertat . . . incredulos ad prudentiam iustorum.

23. *ut* . . . *fuert*: indirect question in apposition to *tantas res* (22).

23. *incorporeo*: post-classical. Cf. Gellius 5.15.1: Corpusne sit vox an incorporeum: hoc enim vocabulum quidam finxerunt proinde quod Graece dicitur *ἀσώματον*. Macrobius, Sat. 7.15.14-15 uses it twice in the same sense as in the passage of Gellius just quoted. Cf. also De Trin. 11.5: (Haeretici dicunt), "Incorporeus Pater est: si Filius secundum Spiritum circumscriptus est corpore, iam incorporei (Patris) non est forma (= imago) corporeus (Filius)"; 3.3: Invisibilis enim et incorporeus et incomprehensibilis, utpote a Deo genitus, tantum in se et materiae et humilitatis recepit, quantum in nobis erat virtutis ad intellegendum se et sentiendum et contuendum.

24. *perfectus*: attributive adjective "perfect", limiting *Progenitus*, not to be taken with *fuert* to form a periphrastic, which would give an heretical sense rejected in the Symbolum Nicaenum (Nicene Creed; text in Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, Vol. 2, 58-59): Genitum, non factum. Cf. De Trin. 2.22: Audiant unum ingenitum Deum Patrem, et unum unigenitum Dei Filium perfecti Patris Progeniem perfectam (F.); 3.3: Ac sic ab ingenito, perfecto, aeternoque Patre, unigenitus et perfectus et aeternus est Filius; 3.4: Perfecti Patris perfectus Filius et ingeniti Dei unigenita Progenies, qui ab eo,

25

Grande loquimur et Deum
verum, ut Genitor, quicquid inest sibi,
aeternae decus gloriae
totum in unigenam ediderit Deum,

26. verum: ut *Mey Buz Fed* verum, ut *Gam Mas* verum ut *Dre*. 28.
unigenitum *Gam Dre Buz*, sed cf. v. 44. deum. Hinc *Dre Mey*.

qui habet omnia, accepit omnia, Deus a Deo (F.); "Hymnum dicat" 60: Spiritum Dei perfectum.

24. *Progenitus*: recognized by Feder in his Index as a noun of the fourth declension. It is not thus classified in the dictionaries or by Quillacq. It seems better to regard it as the participle used as a substantive, as in Verg., Aen. 1.297:

Haec ait et Maia genitum demittit ab alto.

It appears to be used for *progenies*, to avoid the use of the form *perfecta*, for metrical reasons. Meyer changes *Dei* to *Deus* and then considers *fuert progenitus* a periphrastic, but the MS. reading seems to have more force. Furthermore, S. Hilary did not hesitate to use *Ortus* I 44 and *'ipsud* I 52, the latter also for metrical reasons. Gamurrini's reading of this line—*profectus fuert primogenitus*—is an error and metrically impossible, due to a misunderstanding of the MS. and of the meter.

For the thought in I 23 and 24, cf. De Trin. 3.3: Hic ergo ingenitus (Pater) ante omne tempus ex se Filium genuit, non ex aliqua subiecta materia, quia per Filium omnia (facta sunt), non ex nihilo, quia ex se Filium (genuit) . . . non partem sui vel divisam vel discissam vel extensam, quia et impassibilis et incorporeus Deus est, haec autem passionis et carnis sunt . . . Sed incomprehensibiliter, inenarrabiliter, ante omne tempus et saecula, unigenitum ex his quae ingenita in se erant procreavit, omne quod Deus est per caritatem atque virtutem nativitati eius impertiens; ac sic ab ingenito, perfecto, aeternoque Patre, unigenitus et perfectus et aeternus est Filius (B.).

25 ff. Feder in his Studien 3 thus paraphrases 25–28: "It is something sublime and characteristic of the true God, that the Father shared the fulness of his own Lordship, etc." In his Epilegomena he paraphrases the same lines thus: "We proclaim something sublime and characteristic of the true God, that the Father, etc." We may, therefore, possibly assume that Feder understands *Deum verum* to mean *re vera divinum* or *veri Dei proprium*; also that he takes the *ut*-clause as an extension of a substantive clause of result, and makes it the subject of (*esse*) *grande et* (*esse*) *Deum verum* in indirect statement. But this assumed use of *Deum* in place of a neuter adjective seems unparalleled, and is quite different from the use of *Deum* = *divinum* in I 7, where the word

We say that it is a sublime fact and that He is true God, inasmuch as the Father hath bestowed on the Only-begotten God all the honor of eternal glory which He possesseth in Himself,

refers to a person. It seems better to take the words *grande . . . verum* thus: *loquimur (id esse) grande et (Christum esse) Deum verum*, and to consider the *ut*-clause causal.

28. *unigenam*: not confined to S. Hilary but very characteristic of him. The word *unigenitum*, of the same meaning, is also common in S. Hilary and is read by Gamurrini, but it cannot fit into this meter. *Unigena* occurs also in I 28, 44 and 51. S. Paulinus of Nola uses it, Carm. 5.46: *Dominus Deusque unigena*. *Deus unigenitus* according to Mason seems to occur in S. Hilary more frequently than in any other author, and is found abundantly in De Trin. Cf. Prud., Apoth. 895:

Ingenitus, genitusque Deus, Pater, et Patre natus.

28. *ediderit* = *genuerit*. Cf. Tract. Myst. 1.28.1: *Moyses etenim natus eo tempore, quo omnes masculini sexus editos Pharaon necari praeceperat*.

28. *in Deum*: cf. I 20: *in Deum* and note.

For the thought in 26–28, cf. De Trin. 3.23: *Omnia enim Filius accepit a Patre, et est Dei forma . . . plenitudo in utroque divinitatis perfecta est* (B.).

28–32. Meyer sets a period at the end of v. 28, and begins a sentence with v. 29. He forms vv. 29–32 into a complete strophe, erases *est* after *Deus*, as disturbing the meter and sense, considers *ipsum* equal to *se*, and compares the thought with that in v. 50. His reading would be equivalent to: *Hinc Pater fuit merito unus bonus, quod* ("because") *vellet*, etc. "God has given His whole existence to the Other; therein (*hinc*) the goodness of God has been shown and for this same reason (*hinc*) we can speak of only One God." But Feder, in his Epileg., takes exception to this alteration of the MS., and notes that the combination *quod Deus est* is a favorite expression of S. Hilary. (Cf. I 48 and examples cited below.) He shows that the meter is not violated if we read *Deu'st*, as I 20: *genitu'st* and I 49: *quibu'st*. The subjunctive is dependent on *ut* in v. 26, so that the particle *hinc* forms the transition between the two strophes and connects them. For the tense sequence of *vellet* see below. The meaning as Feder gives it (but changed as explained in note on *Deum verum* I 25ff.) then is: "We say that it is a sublime fact and that Christ is true God, inasmuch as the Father shared the fulness of His own Lordship with the Only-begotten Son (25–28), and therefore (*hinc*) as the only Good One transmuted without envy His divine nature into a living copy" (29–32).

- Hinc unus merito Bonus
 30 ipsum, quod Deus est, extra invidiam sui
 gigni vellet in alterum
 transformans se, ut est, vivam in imaginem.
 Istis vera patet Dei
 virtus: cum dederit omnia, non tamen
 35 ipsis, quae dederit, caret
 cuncta, quae sua sunt, cum dederit, habens.
 Kara Progenies Dei,

29. bonus ipsum *Mas Dre Fed* bonus, ipsum *Gam Buz.* bonus, ipsum
 (= *se*) quod deus [est] extra *Mey, qui reicit ad v. 50.* 30. *lege deust*
Fed. 32. in *om. Gam.*

30. *quod Deus est*: S. Hilary uses this formula to designate Godhead, as in I 48. It is a characteristically Hilarian phrase, and of very frequent occurrence. Cf. De Trin. 3.3: Omne quod Deus est per caritatem atque virtutem nativitati eius impertiens (Mas.); 4.8: Conantur . . . Filio auferre, quod Deus est (Mas.); 9.31: Non est infirmitati datio deputanda, quae totum hoc (Filium) nascentem consummat ("brings it about that") esse quod Deus est (F.); 10.19: Ita Iesus Christus per virtutem suam carnis atque animae homo ac Deus esset, habens in se et totum verumque quod Deus est et totum verumque quod homo est (Mas.); 11.4: Christus . . . cui non sit ex nativitate quod Deus est (ut novi praedicatores dicunt) (Mas.).

30. *extra invidiam*: cf. De Trin. 9.61; Qui diligit, non invidet, et qui Pater est, non etiam non Pater totus est (Mas.).

31. *vellet*: the sequence of tenses changes from primary to secondary because *vellet*, connected with *ediderit* by *hinc*, is virtually dependent upon *ediderit*. Cf. W. E. Peters, Syntax of the Latin Verb § 182 a.

31. *in alterum*: cf. I 20: *in* and note; also I 32: *vivam in imaginem*.

32. *ut est*: Mason finds this a favorite expression of S. Hilary, and compares De Trin. 2.7: Deum ut est quantusque est non eloquetur; 2.8: Est Pater, ut est, et ut est, esse credendus est; 6.12: Deus, ut est Deus, quod est, permanet.

32. *imaginem*: cf. De Trin. 8.51: Sentisne iam quid sit esse imaginem Dei? Creari utique omnia in eo per eum. Cum in eo creantur omnia, intellege etiam eum cuius imago est creantem in eo omnia; 9.54: Cui innascibilitatis esse imaginem sacramento ("mystery") nativitatis impertit, quem ex se in formam suam generat (Mey.); De Syn. 69: Non est auctor ipse, sed imago est: imago Dei ex Deo in Deum nata (Mey.); De Trin. 12.24: Formam itaque atque imaginem invisibilis Dei unigenitus in se Deus continens, in omnibus his quae propria Deo Patri sunt, per plenitudinem verae in se divinitatis

And therefore as the only Good One, without envying himself, justly desired the very thing which constituteth (the very essence of) Godhead to be begotten into the Other, transforming Himself, just as He is into a living likeness.

In this is revealed the true excellence of God: though He hath given all, still He doth not lack the very things which He hath given, possessing all that are His, though He hath given them.

Dear Offspring of God, in Whom is born all the glory of the
aequatur (B.).

32. *vivus* and *vivens* are frequently joined with *imago* in S. Hilary. Cf. De Trin. 7.37: Imagines autem ceterae ex diversis metallis, aut fucis, aut generibus, aut artibus reddunt eorum species, quorum sunt imagines institutae . . . Filius autem Patri non secundum haec imago est, quia viventis vivens imago est, et ex eo (Patre) natus, non habet naturae diversitatem (B.); 11.5: Deum viventis vivam imaginem (B.).

33. *istis*: cf. II 25 and III 13. In none of these three instances, except possibly that in Hymn II, is any second-personal meaning apparent. In Eccl. Latin *iste* is often used where *hic* would stand in Classical Latin. Cf. Matth. 26.31: Omnes vos scandalum patiemini in me in ista (= hac) nocte; Act. 20.34, and S. Johann. 7.8 (quoted by Nunn). For an extensive discussion of *iste*, see C. L. Meader, Latin Pronouns, New York, 1901, 111-161.

34. *virtus*: for the thought, cf. the second quotation from De Trin. 3.3 in note on I 24.

34-36: *cum dederit*, etc.: cf. De Trin. 6.12: Sed, quia verae fidei professio est, ita Deum ex Deo natum, ut lumen a lumine . . . ut det, quod habet, et quod dederit, habeat (B.); 2.8: Perfectus autem a perfecto est, quia qui habet omnia, dedit omnia, neque idcirco existimandus est non dedisse, quia habet, vel non habere, quia dederit (B.); 3.4: Ab eo, qui habet omnia, accipit omnia (F.).

36. *habens* is causal.

37. *Progenies*: a favorite word of S. Hilary, found especially in De Trin. Cf. 2.11: Est Filius ab eo, qui Pater est, unigenitus ab ingenito, Progenies a Parente (B.); 3.4: Ingeniti Dei unigenita Progenies (B.); 2.8: Progenies ingeniti (Mey.). It is also used of Christ by Prudentius and Fortunatus. Cf. Prud., Cath. 3.136:

Ecce venit nova Progenies;

Fortunatus 3.9.48-51:

Unica Progenies ex deitate Patris . . .

aequalis, concors, socius, cum Patre coaevus.

- connatum cui sit omne decus Patris!
 nil natae eguit dari,
 40 sed natum simul est, quicquid erat Dei.
 Lumen fulsit a Lumine
 Deusque verus substitit ex Deo
 vero, non aliud habens

38. *connatum* *Mey Buz Fed* cognatum *A Gam Dre Mas*. 39. *natae* (*sc. progeniei*) *Mas Mey Fed* *nate A nato Gam* *naturae Dre Buz*. 42. *substitit Gam*.

37. *kara Progenies Dei*: (*k* due to acrostic) recalls the apostrophising of the wonder-child in Vergil, *Ecl.* 4.49: *Cara deum suboles*. Cf. also *Aen.* 5.564: *Tua cara, Polite, progenies*. For this and other concords with Vergil in the prose writings of S. Hilary, see Weyman 1172.

38. *connatum*: changed by Meyer from the MS. reading *cognatum*, and adopted by Buzna and Feder. This reading may be supported by II 28 and *De Trin.* 5.11: *Quia nemo ambigat naturam auctoris in Filii nativitate con-nasci* (F.). *Connascor* according to the *Thesaurus* is found only in Late Latin. Here it = I 40: *natum simul* "born at the same time", "born with". For this meaning cf. Orelli, *Inscr.* 5013: *Et (qui) connatus fuerit de coniuge mea*. *Connatum* seems preferable here, because it has much more force than the MS. reading.

For the thought in I 37–38, cf. *De Trin.* 9.31: *Naturalis igitur Filio Dei et congenita omnis potestas est, quae cum data sit, non alienata est per id ab Auctore, quia data est, cum quod est Auctoris, hoc datum sit (Mas.)*, with which in turn cf. I 34–36.

38. *sit*: subjv. in a relative clause of cause.

39. *natae* (*sc. Progeniei*): the MS. reads *nate*, which would be vocative, but the meter demands a long 3rd syllable in the line. Dreves and Buzna proposed to read *naturae*, in support of which the following may be cited, *De Trin.* 11.48: *Sed ne in unigenitum quidem Deum demutandae naturae cadit necessitas* (B.), and 5.38: *Subsistentem in eo Dei naturam intellegentes, cum in Deo Deus insit*. Although this emendation makes good sense, it is not likely that a copyist would write *nate* for it. Gamurrini had read *nato* and Mason, followed by Meyer and Feder, read *natae*, supplying *Progeniei* from *Progenies* v. 37. This is really a very simple emendation, since for *natae* the MS. should read *natę* instead of the *nate* of A. Cf. III 12: *optime* in A for *optime*.

39. For the passive infinitive with *egere*, cf. *De Trin.* 2.25: *Non ille eguit homo effici* (F.). The use is found also in *Mela* 2. 3. 41 and 2. 4. 58.

40. *natum simul*: cf. *connatum* I 38 and note.

Father! Nothing needed to be given Thee after birth, but whatever was of God, was born with Thee at the same time.

Light shone from Light and very God existed from very God, the Only-begotten Son, having nothing else but what the un-

For the thought in I 39-40, cf. Prud., Apoth. 795-796:

Ille coaeternus Patris est, et semper in ipso,
nec factus, sed natus habet quodcumque paternum est.

41-44. Cf. *Symbolum Nicaenum*: Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum, et ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula, Deum de Deo, Lumen de Lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero, genitum, non factum, consubstantiali Patri, per quem omnia facta sunt (F.); De Trin. 1.10: (Mens) Creatorem enim suum Deum ex Deo discit (Mey.); 2.8: Verus a vero (Mey.); 3.4: Deus a Deo, Spiritus a Spiritu, Lumen a Lumine . . . ut lumen Pater, ita et Filius lumen. Also cf. De Trin. 6.12, quoted in note on 34, especially the following from the same: Dum ex eo, quod est, nascitur, neque aliunde neque aliud est; est enim lumen ex lumine; 7.11: Ex Deo Deus cum nativitate veritate subsistens (Mey.).

The beautiful thought of Christ as the fountain of eternal light is a common theme in the Christian hymn-writers. Cf. Sedul., Paschal. Carm. 1.313:

Et totum commune Patris de lumine lumen;

and S. Ambros., the hymn beginning:

Splendor paternae gloriae,
de luce lucem proferens,
lux lucis et fons luminis,
dies dierum inluminans.

41. *fulsit*: *fulgeo* and *refulgeo* are favorite verbs in the hymn-writers in connection with the radiance of light. Cf. Fort., "Vexilla regis prodeunt" 2, and S. Ambros., "Aeterne rerum Conditor" 29. Vergil used it similarly in Aen. 1.588 and 6.204.

42. *substitit*: Gamurrini's reading *subsistit* is clearly an error. See MS, Du Cange s. v. says it = *existere*, *esse*, and *sustentari*. Cf. Anal. Hym. 51.12 "Christe, caeli Domine" 9-12:

Tu Verbum Patris aeterni
ore divino editus
Deus ex Deo subsistens
unigenitus Filius.

42. *Deus ex Deo*: cf. vv. 23-24: *Ex Deo Progenitus Dei*.

43. *non aliud habens*: cf. De Trin. 3.4: Quod in Patre est, hoc et in Filio est: quod in ingenito, hoc et in unigenito . . . non duo unus, sed alius in

- Ortus unigena, quam innascibilis Pater.
 45 Mirum hoc opus est Dei,
 aeternus ut incorruptibilis Deus,
 ortu qui careat, quia
 sit sempiterna Virtus, quod est Deus,
 Non natis, quibus est in bonis,
 50 ex se se placidus gigneret in Deum;
 ac sic in unigena Deo
 hoc ipsud ortu, quod genitum est, caret.
 O felix duum unitas!

44. *ortu susp. Eng.* ortus quam unigena *susp. propter metrum Mey* unigena *aequivalet tribus syllabis:* unig^ena *Fed* unig^ena *Myers.* 45. hoc opus est dei *Dre Buz Fed* dei hoc opus est *A Gam Mas* dei hoc est opus *Mey.* 47. careat, — quia *Mas.* 48. <id> quod *susp. Mey.* deus, Non *Dre Mey Buz Fed* deus. Non *Gam* deus, — Non *Mas.* 49. *lege* quibust. est *del. Dre.* in *del. Mey Buz.* 50. se se *Gam Mey,* qui *reicit ad v. 30 Buz.* sese *A Mas Dre Fed.* 51. *lege* unig^ena. in unigena *A Gam Dre Fed* unigena in *Mas Mey Buz.*

alio, quia non aliud in utroque (F.). (For a translation of the last part, see note on I 16.)

44. *Ortus* seems not to occur elsewhere in the concrete sense of *filius* or *progenies*, and is not mentioned by Quillacq. The use in Prud., Cath. 9.19–20 is not parallel, being abstract:

O beatus ortus ille, Virgo cum puerpera
 edidit nostram salutem feta sancto Spiritu,

where *ortus* means “birth”. Meyer thinks it strange that S. Hilary did not write

Natus unigená quam ingenitus Pater.

44. *unigena:* Feder endeavors to preserve the MS. reading by scanning unig^ena, as also in I 51; but it is much better metrically to scan unig^ena in these two places.

45. *mirum:* S. Hilary here says that the procreation of the Son through the Father is truly incomprehensible to man.

46. *incorruptibilis:* only in Eccl. Latin. Cf. Lact. 1.3.9 and Tert., De Anima 1.50. The word is not in Quillacq, and seems not to be used elsewhere in S. Hilary.

ut . . . gigneret (v. 50): cf. ut . . . ediderit, v. 26ff., and the note. The sequence of tenses is broken, apparently for metrical convenience only.

47. *ortu qui careat:* cf. I 52: *ortu caret.*

begotten Father had.

Wonderful is this work of God, how the eternal, incorruptible God, Who is without birth, because He is the Eternal Virtue, Which constituteth Godhead,

Begot Himself from Himself without passion into Godhead, although the goodness of which He consisteth hath not been begotten; and so in the Only-begotten God this very thing which hath been begotten is without beginning.

O the blessed Unity of the Two! And since the One is mingled

48. *Virtus, quod est Deus*: supply *id* as antecedent of *quod*, and cf. I 30: *Ipsum, quod Deus est* and the note.

49. A very difficult line. Meyer erased *in* and thought that this and the next line probably meant "with the retention of His own characteristics (properties) He bore Himself out of Himself to a God." Feder retains *in* and takes the line to equal *non natis, in quibus est, bonis*. This seems correct. The construction is an ablative absolute denoting concession, *bonis*, the subject, meaning "(characteristic) goodness (of the Father)". Cf. De Trin. 3.3: *Unigenitum ex his, quae ingenita in se erant, procreavit* (Mey.).

For the turn of expression *in quibus est*, Mason compares De Trin. 11.4, where, after recounting the attributes of Godhead, S. Hilary complains that according to the Arians our Lord is *extra hanc beatitudinem . . . manens ipse et mortalis et infirmus et malus dum in his Pater solus est*, and 9.31: *Unigenitus igitur in his se docens substituisse quae Patris sunt*.

50. The MS. reading *sese*, retained by Mason and Feder, leaves no object for *gigneret*. Hence *ex se se* is preferable.

50. *placidus*: according to Meyer = *impassibilis*, which makes good sense, though there seem to be no parallels to this use. For the sense we may compare De Trin. 2.8: *Impassibilis est enim ille qui genuit*; In Psalm. 52.16: *In . . . impassibilem naturam nihil licuit passioni*; and De Trin. 3.3: *Quia et impassibilis et incorporeus Deus est, haec autem passionis et carnis sunt* (quoted more fully in note on I 24).

51. Read *unigena*, as in I 44.

52. *ipsud*: is considered hypothetical in Bennett, Latin Language §196, but appears sporadically in a few late writers. See Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre³, 2. 408. It is used here to avoid ecthipsis.

53. *o felix unitas*: nominative of exclamation, as in II 33, and Prud., Cath. 9.19: *o beatus ortus ille*. Also cf. Hor., Serm. 1.1.4: *o fortunati mercatores*. For *felix*, cf. Proem. 1: *felix* and the note.

53. *duum*: of frequent occurrence for *duorum* in all periods of the language.

- alterque cum sit mixtus in altero,
 55 unum sic faciunt duo,
 sit in duobus cum, quod est in altero.
 Paret sed Genitus Patri
 omnemque ad nutum attonitus manet;
 et scire non est arduum,
 60 quid velit se sequi, <quem> penes est Pater.
 Quanta est genitus in bona!
 nam constitutus in cunctorum exordia

54. alterque *Mey Buz Fed* alter quē *A* alter qui *Gam Mas* alter quod *Dre*.
 55. duo *rep. in mg. A.* 56. cum in duobus sit *Mey.* est quod *Dre Buz*.
 57. patri sed genitus paret *Gam Dre Mas.* 60. se sequi, <quem>
 penes *Dre Mey Buz Fed* se se qui penes *A Gam sese* qui penes *Mas*; cf. v.
 19: quem penes sit. 61. quanta in est genitus bona *susp. Mey.* 62.
 exordio *Mas*.

It is found in Naev. ap. Charis. p. 127 (Keil); Accius ap. Cic., Or. 46 fin.; Sall., Iug. 106.5; Livy 3.25; In Matth. 18.7: Ut in ore duum testium fides verbi ac veritas maneat (Q.).

54. *mixtus* in w. abl.: cf. Apoc. S. Iohann. 8.7: Grando et ignis mixta in sanguine; Anal. Hym. 51.41 "Bis ternas horas explicans" 7-8:

Solvamus ora in canticis
 prece mixtā Davidicis.

The normal construction is the simple ablative or dative.

For the thought in I 54-56, cf. In Psalm. 144.3: Cum . . . alter in altero sit et ambo unum sint (Weyman); De Trin. 3.4: Quod in ingenito, hoc et unigenito est; alter ab altero, et uterque unum, non duo unus, sed alius in alio, quia non aliud in utroque (B.).

57. *paret* . . . *Patri*: nothing seems to be gained by the transposition to *Patri* . . . *paret* of Gamurrini, followed by Dreves and Mason, nor does Gamurrini give any reason for his change. Perhaps he thought *pāret* "obey" was *pāret* "prepare", and transposed it for the meter, failing to observe that the penult of *Patri* can be short. He then probably understood the verse to mean: "Let the Son prepare for the Father." Note the alliteration.

57. *Genitus*: substantive. Cf. Mar. Victorin., De Trin. Hym. 3:

Generator, Genitus, Regenerans,
 o beata Trinitas!

For the thought, cf. De Trin. 9.53: Hoc . . . Patri debitum reddens, ut obedientiam suam mittentis ("of the sender") deputet voluntati (Mey.).

with the Other, the Two thus form One, for what is in the One is in the Two.

But the Son obeyeth the Father and is attentive to every nod, and it is not difficult to know what He wisheth Himself to do, dwelling in Whom is the Father.

Into what great blessings hath He been born! inasmuch as, appointed for the beginnings of all things and establishing first

58. *attonitus* has here the meaning of *attentus* (Meyer) and governs the same construction, i. e., *ad* with the accusative. Cf. Cic., *De Off.* 1.36.131: *Si attentos animos ad decoris conservationem tenebimus.* The Thesaurus lists numerous instances, mostly late and ecclesiastical, of this use of *attonitus*, of which we quote Novatian., *Cib. Iud.* 5: *In has voluptates attonitus (Deus), ut nostris gaudeat cibus,* and Fortunat., *Carm.* 8.3.186: *Attonitique silent rege loquente patres.* Quillacq does not cite it for the prose works of S. Hilary.

58. *manet*: cf. I 1, 14, 16, 18.

57–58. Probably said in connection with the Creation mentioned in I 61–68. Cf. “Hymnum dicat” 10:

Omniumque tu Creator quae Pater nasci iubet.

59. *arduum est* with infinitive is an Hilarian expression. Cf. In Psalm. 62.3: *Arduum autem, sed maxime verum est, aeternitatem ita corporis ut animae sperare;* 118.12.13: *Arduum autem atque difficile est intellegere Dei testimonia (F.);* 139.7: *Arduum quoque est linguam laqueo eximere.* Sallust uses the expression in *Cat.* 3.2 but in the sense “troublesome”, “unpleasant”, for which meaning see Gell. 4.15. The Thesaurus, besides the above, cites its use in Livy, Valerius Maximus, and writers of Silver Latinity, and lists it as found in S. Hilary, Ammianus Marcellinus, S. Hieronymus, S. Augustine, and Cassiodorus.

60. *sequi*: for *persequi*. For the simple verb used in the sense of a compound, see note on I 16: *orat*.

60. <quem> *penes*: Dreves supplied *quem*, which was needed for the meter, on the basis of I 19. Cf. the passage from Scripture often quoted by S. Hilary, *Col.* 2.9: *Quia in ipso (Christo) inhabitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter.*

61. *genitus in* with acc.: cf. Vell. *Pater.* 2.116.2: *Adolescentis in omnium virtutum exempla geniti.*

62. *in* with the acc.: expresses purpose here, as frequently in Eccl. Latin. Cf. S. Luc., 22.19: *Hoc est corpus meum, hoc facite in (= εἰς) meam commemorationem;* 1.77: *In remissionem peccatorum eorum.* For additional examples see Nunn 111; also cf. Schmalz 412–413, § 147.

condensque primum saecula
aeternum in motum tempora protulit.

65 Rebus anterior Deus
 cunctis — nam per eum omnia facta sunt —,
 esset cum nihilum modo,
 mundum corporeo condidit in statu.

 Sed nos littera non sinit,
70 per quam te genitum concinimus Deum,
 gesta, quae tua sunt, loqui
 carnemque natum, iam qui eras Deus!

63. condens qui *Gam Dre Mas.* 67. nichilum *A Mey Buz.* 72.
carnemque *vel* carne inque *Mey* carnemque *Buz Fed* carmenque *A Gam*
Dre Mas. qui iam eras deus *mavult Mey.*

63. *condens*: a very common word for "create" in Eccl. Latin. Cf. III 9:
Conditorem. Cf. also Sedulius, "A solis ortus cardine" 8:

Non perderet quod condidit;

Fortunatus, Anal. Hym. 50.85 "Agnoscat omne saeculum" 19:

Cum Patre caelos condidit;

Anal. Hym. 51.13 "Diei luce reddita" 5-6:

(Christus) per quem Creator omnium
diem noctemque condidit;

51.24 "Primo dierum omnium" 2:

Quo mundus exstat conditus.

For the thought, cf. In Psalm. 2.23: Erat enim, cum tempora facta sunt, quippe qui ea fecerit; Ambros., De Fid. 1.5.36: Dei Filium, cum Conditor ipse sit temporum; 1.9.58: Cum Filius temporis Auctor sit et Creator; De Helia 9.32: Ab ipso mundi Conditore didicimus saepe diversitatibus cumulari gratiam; and his hymn beginning:

Aeterne rerum Conditor
noctem diemque qui regis;

Prud., Cath. 5.2:

Qui certis vicibus tempora dividis (this refers to the fixed interchange of times and seasons, a thought which often recurs);

Anal. Hym. 51.43 "Iesu, Redemptor saeculi" 5-6:

Tu Fabricator omnium
Discretor atque temporum;

51.55 "Ex more docti mystico" 7-8:

Christus . . . omnium
Rex atque Factor temporum.

63. *condens* here supplies the missing perfect active participle. Compare

the ages, He set the seasons in eternal motion.

(Being) God (and) existing before all things—for by Him all things were made—though just before there was nothing, He created the world in material form.

But the letter of the alphabet through which we hymn Thy praises as God the Son doth not permit us to proclaim the deeds which are Thine own and Thine Incarnation, O Thou Who wast

this aoristic use in S. Luc. 1.39: *Exsurgens autem Maria in diebus illis abiit in montana cum festinatione*; 1.63: *Et postulans pugillarem, scripsit*. This is a very common usage in Late and Eccl. Latin, and Schmalz (§ 183) cites its occasional use in all periods, where no ambiguity is to be feared, as Plaut., Poen. 652: *Adiit ad nos extemplo exiens?* and Tac., An. 12.48: *At Quadratus cognoscens proditum Mithridaten vocat consilium*.

65. *anterior*: according to the Thesaurus, is found once in Celsus; otherwise it is late. Cf. In Matth. 14.8: *Praesens molestia anteriori non convenit voluntati*.

66. *per eum*: *per* with the accusative is very common in S. Hilary in place of an ablative construction and even of a dative of apparent agent. Cf. I 70; In Psalm. 126.8: *Domus ergo aedificanda per Deum est* (Q.); 143.14: *Laqueis mortis . . . per gloriam resurrectionis eripitur* (Q.); De Trin. 3.13: *Clarificatur ergo per Filium Pater* (Q.).

66. *nam . . . sunt*: cf. S. Johann. 1.3: *Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil, quod factum est* (F.).

67. *nihilum*: *nichilum* in A. Cf. III 24: *michi* in A. The spelling of the different forms of this word with *c* is common in various MSS. See Apparatus Criticus; also A. Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature Latine ed Italiane*.

67. *modo*: for this meaning, cf. Cic. Fam. 4.13.2: *In qua urbe modo gratia, auctoritate, gloria florui*, in ea nunc his quidem omnibus caremus.

68. *mundum*: "the world" in the sense of "the universe", which Fortunatus (2.2) considers as made of the three component parts *terra, pontus, astra*. Cf. Prud., Cath. 9.13-15. Lucr. 1.73 speaks of the *flammantia moenia mundi*.

69. In this abecedary, S. Hilary says he can hymn only the first and divine Birth of the Son, not His creation of the universe nor His Incarnation.

70. *per*: cf. I 66: *per eum*, and note.

70. *te genitum Deum*: lit. "Thee being born God". *Deum* is predicate accusative, as is also *carnem* v. 72. For the thought, cf. I 20.

70. *concinimus*: cf. III 2 and "Hymnum dicat" 2.

71. *loqui* with a direct object is classical and frequent. See the lexicons.

72. The MS. reading *carmenque* is clearly corrupt. The change to *carnemque*

Te cunctis Dominum modis,
 caelorum Regem et caelestis gloriae,
 75 ut cuncta per te condita
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * *

II

* * * * *
 10 * * * * *

Fefellit saevam Verbum factum te caro
 Deique tota vivi in corpus irruis.

Gaudes, pendentem cernis ligno cum Crucis,
 tibi que membra fixa clavis vindicas.

15 Hanc sumis ante pompam tanti proelii

76. sqq. *Hymnus cum sit abecedarius, desiderantur in A 17 versus. Mey suppl. v. 76 ita: concinunt angeli vel alio carmine concinemus.*

Initium hymni II abecedarii in A non exstat. 11. te (*sc. mortem*) *Mey Buz Fed et Gam Dre Mas.* 13. gaudes *A Gam Dre Mey Buz Fed gaudens Mas.* cernis *Dre Mas Mey Buz Fed* carnis *A* carnem *Gam*; cf. *infra v. 24 et 46 et hymn. III 19 et 25.* 14. tibi quē (*que s. l. m2*) *A.* 15. prēlii *A* proelii sputus *Mas* proelii: sputus *Gam Dre Fed* prēlii sputus *Mey* praelii sputus *Buz.*

or to *carne inque*, adopted from Meyer, is paleographically easy, involving merely the transposition of the *m* and *n* in the first conjecture, and a very slight alteration in the second. The former emendation seems preferable, for the thought in which, cf. S. Johann. 1.14 and II 11: Verbum factum caro.

Meyer preferred the transposition to *qui iam eras Deus* as easier for metrical reasons, although this change still involves hiatus.

74. *caelorum Regem et caelestis gloriae*: note the alliteration. The expression *caelestis gloria* is Hilarian. Cf. De Trin. 10.23: Corpus . . . quod in caelestem gloriam conformatur in monte; also In Psalm. 67.19 and 21; 138.22, which three passages are quoted in the note on II 30.

77–96. Buzna quotes De Trin. 11.24 as a possible conjecture of the general contents of these lost lines: Ingrediamur itaque, in quo festinavimus.—Festinavimus enim ad Christum Iesum Dominum gloriae et Regem aeternorum saeculorum (cf. I 73–74), in quo restaurata sunt omnia . . . in quo et cum quo semper manebimus.

God already!

Thee in all ways Lord, King of Heaven and of celestial glory, as well as all Thy Creation, <we shall praise in another song>.

HYMN II

The Incarnate Word hath deceived thee (Death) in thy cruelty, and thou rushest with all thy might upon the Body of the living God.

Thou dost rejoice when thou seest Him hanging on the wooden Cross, and for thyself thou dost claim His Limbs pierced with nails.

Before this victory in so great a contest thou dost employ

11. *fefellit*: cf. In Psalm. 53.14: Morte enim non interceptus est unigenitus Dei Filius. Ad explendam quidem hominis naturam etiam morti se, id est dissectioni se tamquam animae corporisque subiecit (B.).

11. *Verbum factum caro*: cf. S. Johann. 1.1: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum; Hymn. I 72 and note, and S. Johann. 1.14 (F.) quoted there; also Apoc. Iohann. 19.13: Et vestitus erat veste aspersa sanguine: et vocatur nomen eius Verbum Dei.

11. *te* refers to *Mors*, to which lines 11-40 are addressed. The MS. reading *et* cannot be correct, because *et*, "also", always emphasizes the word which follows, and would here render a sense which the line will not bear. All editors have therefore followed Meyer in changing *et* to *te*.

12. *Dei vivi*: this expression, though in a different context, is found 1 Sam. 17.26 and 36; *acies* (and *exercitus*) *Dei viventis*.

12. *irruis*: cf. De Trin. 10.23: Sed in corpus Domini irruens passio (B.).

13. *gaudes*: Mason changed to *gaudens* and regarded *cum* as a preposition, but no apparent advantage is gained by his alteration.

13. *cernis*: the MS. reads *carnis*, which Gamurrini changed to *carnem*, making it the object of *vindicas*; but the easy emendation *cernis* is supported by II 24: *cernis*, 46: *cernat*, III 19: *cernit*, 25: *cernit* (*bis*). *Cerno* seems to be a favorite word of S. Hilary.

14. *fixa clavis*: cf. Fortunatus 2.6 "Vexilla regis prodeunt" 5:

(Hostia) confixa clavis,

and 2.1 "Crux benedicta nitet" 7:

Hic manus illa fuit clavis confixa cruentis.

15. *ante*: Meyer considers this a preposition and thinks it should be construed thus: *iam ante hanc pompam tanti proelii* (= "death on the Cross"), *sputus*, etc. *sumis*. Feder (C.S.E.L. 65) says *ante* = *ante mortem in cruce*

sputus, flagella, ictus, cassa harundinis.

Ibat triumpho morte absumpta, Mors, tua
Deus inferno vinci regno nesciens.

16. hictus *A*. cassa *A* *Gam Dre Mas Fed* quassae *Mey Buz*.
17. morte absumpta, Mors, tua *Mey Buz Fed* mortem sumpta mortuo *A*
mors sumpta mortuo *Gam* morte sumpta *vel* absumpta a mortuo *Dre* morte
sumpto a mortua *Mas*; cf. v. 23 et 37.

subitam, thus considering it an adverb. He therefore makes *pompam* object of *sumis* and puts a colon after *proelii*. The latter use of *ante* is paralleled in Ennodius, Carm. 1.16: "Iam Christus ascendit polum" 2:

Necavit ante funera ("death").

But on the whole, Meyer's explanation is preferable, because it is the simpler.

15. *pompam*: Greek *πομπή*, has here a meaning easily derived from its original sense of a "solemn procession" such as at a military triumph, etc.

15. *proelii*: cf. III 2: *proelia* and Fortunatus 2.2.1: *Gloriosi proelium certaminis*.

16. *sputus*, etc.: accusatives direct objects of *sumis* v. 15. *Sputus* -*ūs* is Late Latin for *sputum*. It is found in the fourth declension in Cael. Aur., Tard. 3.2.18 and 4.4.80; also S. Aug., Civ. Dei 18.23. The spitting is mentioned in Matth. 27.30. Cf. "Hymnum dicat" 38: *Sputa, flagra sustinet*; Anal. Hym. 51.92.19: *Sputa, flagra*.

16. *flagella*: related in Matth. 27.26. Cf. S. Ambros., In Psalm. 118.5.26: (Christus) *cervices suas posuit in flagella*.

16. *ictus*: recorded in Matth. 27.30, also mentioned De Trin. 10.23.

16. *cassa harundinis*: this is the reading in *A*, retained by Gamurrini, Dreves, and Mason. The latter refers for *cassa* to Julius Solinus (52.59) who says of the stone lychnites: *Aut palearum cassa aut chartarum fila ad se rapit*. The same Latin author (2.47) also mentions *lignorum cassa* (*Mas*). The dictionary of Du Cange and the Thesaurus say that it means *fragmenta*. Hence *cassa harundinis*, in the opinion of Mason, are the splinters of the sceptre-reed of Matth. 27.29-30, with which Christ was mocked and then struck. It seems that these splinters are supposed by S. Hilary to have broken off when the head of Christ was struck (*F.*), though this detail is not mentioned in the Scriptures.

The striking and spitting were not done at the Cross itself, as one might infer from II 13.

Instead of *cassa* Meyer proposed to read *quassae* and compared Matth. 12.20: *Harundinem quassatam*. Feder had followed him in his Studien 3, and compared In Matth. 33.3: *Capiti eius illiditur*. *Capiti, ut opinor, de ictu*

spitting, lashes, blows, splinters of the sceptre-reed.

Thy death, O Death, destroyed, God went in triumph, knowing no defeat in the infernal realm.

calami non grandis iniuria est, sed typica ("figurative") in eo ratio servatur.

The striking with the reed is also mentioned In Psalm. 2.6: *Quae usque adeo fremuerunt ut . . . harundine caput contuderint.*

For similar enumerations on the same theme, cf. De Trin. 10.39: In flagellis, alapis, sputis, corona spinea, etc. (Weyman); In Psalm. 54.5: *Dum flagellis, dum colaphis, dum alapis desaeviunt* (Weyman).

Fortunatus, two hundred years later, imitates S. Hilary in this line in 2.2.19:

Hic acetum, fel, harundo, sputa, clavi, lancea (Mas.).

This *cumulatio*, or enumeration with asyndeton (frequently of four members), is a favorite with S. Hilary. Cf. In Psalm. 67.21; 68.31; 91.8; 129.3 (four verbs) and 8; In Matth. 24.8. It is also a favorite usage of Fortunatus (cf. above example), and is found in Prud., Cath. 9.14.

17. *Ibat triumpho*: cf. Prud., Perist. 14.52-53: *Ibat triumphans*, etc., quoted in full in note on I 11; Sedulius, "A solis ortus cardine" 86-87:

. . . Subditum

Christi triumpho Tartarum;

Fortunatus, "Tempora florigero rutilant" 33:

Namque triumphanti post tristia Tartara Christo.

17. *morte . . . tua*: Feder (Epileg.) prefers the reading of Meyer because it keeps closest to the MS. and preserves the direct address to Death which is carried through in the first part of the poem. Cf. II 23 and 37. *Absumpta* = *absorpta* of the text of the song of victory of the Apostle in 1 Cor. 15.54 (F.) (cited by Feder as quoted with changes in De Trin. 11.35): *Absorpta est mors in victoria. Ubi est, Mors, victoria tua? Ubi est, Mors, stimulus tuus?* derived in part from Isaiah 25.8. Cf. also Hosea 13.14, and Hebr. 2.14-15. The thought is also found In Psalm. 59.14: *Cum absorbeatur mors a vita in contentione victoriae*, and occurs frequently in the hymn-writers. Cf. "Hymnum dicat" 40:

Morte carnis quam gerebat mortem vincit omnium;

S. Ambros., "Hic est dies verus Dei" 31:

Consumpta mors ictu suo;

Ennodius, Carm. 1.16: "Iam Christus ascendit polum" 4:

Mors mortis impulsu ruit ("has fallen");

Anal. Hym. 50.103 "Hymnum canamus gloriae" 7 (ascribed by Mearns to the Venerable Bede):

(Christus) qui morte mortem absumpserat.

18. *inferno regno*: Walpole (124) says: "The infernal regions in the old

20 Kandens frigescit stagnum pallidae Stygis
rigensque nescit Phlegethon se fervere.

Lux orta vastae nocti splendet inferum;
tremet et alti custos saevus Tartari.

19. pallidae Stygis *Dre Mey Buz Fed* pallida ē iu gis *A* pallida *Gam* pallida est iugis *Mas*. 20. Flegethon *A Gam Mas Mey Buz Fed* Phlegeton *Dre* Phlegethon *Myers*. 21. nocti *Dre Mey Buz Fed* noctis *A Gam Mas*. splendet inferum; *Mey Buz Fed* splendet, inferum *Gam Dre Mas*. 22. tremet *Mas Mey Buz Fed* tremet *A Gam Dre*. saevus *A*.

heathen mythology <were> adopted by Christian writers to denote 'hell', or 'the powers of hell'." Cf. vv. 19–22 and the notes; also De Trin. 1.6: (Deus) in caelis est, in Inferno est; Fortunatus 3.9.40:

(Dies) qua Deus Infernum vicit et astra tenet.

18. *vinci nesciens*: cf. In Psalm. 53.14 (end): Mortem perpetiens, sed mori nesciens, Deus . . .

For the thought, cf. De Trin. 10.48: Triumphus plane est, quaeri ad Crucem, . . . sepeliri mortuum, sed resurgere Deum! (B.)

All the hope and all the joy of victorious Death are routed, and the glorious triumph of Christ over Death itself is here portrayed.

19. *frigescit*: mostly ante-classical, post-Augustan and late, not cited for Cicero in the Thesaurus.

19. *pallidae Stygis*: the MS. reading is impossible and Dreves' emendation makes excellent sense. The Styx, a subterranean river in Arcadia, supposed to flow in the infernal regions, is frequently synonymous with the Lower World in the pagan poets. See the lexicons, and the note on *inferno regno* v. 18.

19. *pallidae*: occasionally applied to the Lower World. Cf. Tib. 1.10.38: Pallida turba; Ennius (ed. Vahlen) p. 135: Pallida leti loca. Vergil (Georg. 1.243) has Styx atra.

20. *Phlegethon*: cf. Sen., Thyest. 1017–1018:

. . . Ardenti freto

Phlegethon harenas igneus tostas agens.

20. *fervēre*: ante- and post-classical for *fervēre*. In classical period only poetic. See Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre³, 3.267–268. It is frowned on by Quintilian (1.6.7) as obsolete, but occurs in Gell. 2.29.10, Val. Flacc. 7.150, etc.

C. Weyman in Berl. Phil. Woch. 37 (1917) 1172.4 says that S. Hilary here seems to have painted the descent of Christ to Hades with colors which were really prepared for the *κατάβασις* of Orpheus, and he compares Sil. Ital. 11.472ff.:

The glowing pool of the pale Styx groweth cold, and the Phlegethon, frozen over, knoweth not that it is boiling (underneath).

The Light appearing, shineth bright upon the vast darkness of Hades, and the fierce keeper of deep Tartarus trembleth.

Pallida regna

Bistonius vates flammisque Acheronta sonantem
placavit plectro,

as well as the different painting of Hades in Prud., Cath. 5.133ff.

21-22. *Lux*: Christ is the true Light also of the world; cf. I 41 and the note.

21. *inferum*: genitive plural; cf. Verg., Aen. 1.4: *superum*. See Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre³, 1.166-186. It seems better to punctuate after *inferum* with Meyer, in order to preserve the continuity of the verse.

For the Christian borrowing of pagan terms, cf. II 18 and the note. For the use of *inferi* = "the dead", cf. Prud., Perist. 5.247-248:

Hic carcer horrendus suos
habere fertur inferos.

For the thought in these lines, cf. Prud., Cath. 9.70-71:

Quin et ipsum, ne salutis inferi expertes forent,
Tartarum benignus intrat; fracta cedit ianua;

76-77: Sed Deus dum luce fulva mortis antra illuminat,
dum stupentibus tenebris candidum praestat diem, etc.;

Ennodius, Carm. 1.16: "Iam Christus ascendit polum" 6:

Funus subegit Tartarum;

Sedulius, Hymn. 1.67:

Lumen adesse Dei persensit Tartarus ingens;

Fortunatus 3.9.62:

Expavitque chaos luminis ore premi.

S. Hilary has expressed much the same ideas in connection with Christ's glorious victory over Death and Hell in De Trin. 10.34: Anne (Christus) tibi metuere infernum chaos et torrentes flammis et omnem poenarum ultimum abyssum credendus est, dicens latroni in cruce, "Amen, dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in Paradiso"? (B.); In Matth. 33.7: Illuminans enim mortis tenebras, et infernorum obscura collustrans . . . mortis ipsius spolia detrahebat (B.); 33.9: Contuso mortis aculeo et illuminatis illius tenebris, resurgente virtutum caelestium Domino, infernorum trepidatio commovetur (B.).

22. *tremil*: Mason's correction for *tremet* in A. Meyer comments (418, note 1) that S. Hilary prefers the present in narration, as shown vv. 11-22. In Hymn III, except the unavoidable *victus est* (v. 3) and *perlexerat* (v. 25), there are only two avoidable imperfects (vv. 22 and 26).

Mors, te peremtam sentis lege tum tua,
Deum cum cernis subdidisse te tibi.

25 Non est caducum corpus istud, quod tenes,
nullumque in illo ius habet corruptio.

Omnis te vincit carnis nostrae infirmitas;
natura carnis est connata cum Deo.

23. tum A Myers cum Gam Dre Mas Mey Buz Fed. 24. subdidiss,
Dre Myers subdidisse A Gam Mas Mey Buz Fed. te (s. l. A) tibi.
(sc. mortem morti) A Dre Mas Mey Buz Fed se tibi Gam.

23. *Mors*: for a similar address to vanquished Death, cf. Prud., Apothe 767-769:

O Mors, auitis iam mitis legibus! O Mors
surda prius iam docta sequi quodcumque iubetur,
cui tantum de te licuit?

23. *lege*: Feder compares Rom. 7.6 and 8.2, but these have reference rather to the Mosaic law. Cf. en Psalm. 68.2: Vivendi omnibus finem mors in cunctos constituta praescribit, . . . lex mortis in omnes . . . constituta (Mey.).

Walpole, commenting on Fortunatus 3.9.35: Legibus inferni oppressis, says that he has caught up with vigor S. Hilary's repeated reference to "the law of death." Compare S. Hil. III 27 and Fort. 10.11.8:

Infernae legis rumpere vincla potens.

23. *tum*: the reading of A, but all the editors read *cum*. Feder is mistaken when he makes this note in his app. crit.: "tū s.l.A", for *tum* is the only reading of A and is written on the line. Receiving the ictus and taken closely with *cum* in the next line, *tum* is very forceful; and *lege tua* make far better sense as abl. of means than of accompaniment.

24. *subdidisse*: the MS. reads *subdedisse*, which all the editors except Dreves have left uncorrected. For the thought, cf. Sedulius, Hymn. 1.69-70:

Mors fera per hominem miserum sibi subdidit orbem:
subdita congemuit mors fera per hominem.

24. *te tibi*: Gamurrini changed to *se tibi*, but expressions like *te tibi* are quite common in S. Hilary as well as in other writers; cf. In Psalm. 134.10: Qui non se sibi debet (Weyman), and In Matth. 17.1: Negarentque se sibi (Weyman). *Te tibi* = *mortem morti*, as Meyer first stated.

25. *caducum corpus*: cf. III 1: *caduci corporis*; Prud., Cath. 9.16-17:

Corporis formam caduci, membra morti obnoxia
induit;

Anal. Hym. 51.55 "Ex more docti mystico" 25-26:

O Death, then dost thou realize that thou hast been destroyed by thine own law, when thou perceivest that God hath subjected thee to thyself.

This body of mine which thou holdest cannot perish, and corruption hath no dominion over it.

All the infirmity of our flesh is stronger than thou art; the nature of the flesh is related by birth to God.

Memento quod sumus tui,
licet ("although") caduci plasmatis.

25. *istud*: may possibly be influenced by the presence of the clause *quod tenes*. Cf. I 33: *istis* and the note.

26. *ius*: cf. Bücheler, Anthol. Lat. 1391.1-2:

Postquam, Mors, Christi pro nobis morte peristi,
in Domini famulos nil tibi iuris erit.

26. *in* with the ablative I have not been able to find elsewhere with *ius*. Cf. above passage and Plaut., Cas. 192: *Ius ad mulieres*; Iuv. 2.139:

Sed melius, quod nil animis in corpora iuris
natura indulget.

For the thought, cf. Rom. 6.9: *Mors illi ultra non dominabitur*.

26. *corruptio*: Meyer says that not *abolitio* but *demutatio* awaits the body, as In Psalm. 2.41, quoted in note on II 30. Cf. also De Trin. 9.31: *Naturalis igitur Filio Dei et congenita omnis potestas est; quae cum data sit, non alienat eum per id ab auctore quia data est; cum quod sit auctoris, hoc datum sit, dare scilicet vitam aeternam, et corruptionem in incorruptionem mutare*; In Psalm. 67.35: *Dissolutorum corporum pulverem in formam cogere soliditatemque membrorum et vitas rursum in homines animasque revocare et corruptionem naturae imbecillis naturae caelestis incorruptione mutare* (Mey.).

For the thought in II 23-26, cf. In Psalm. 139.11: *Scit autem se in die gloriosi illius belli, quo mortem perimet, quo diabolus vincet, quo omnes potestates inimicas triumpho Crucis suae configet, obumbratum protectumque iri* (B.); De Trin. 3.15: *Dei Filius crucifigitur, sed in Cruce hominis mortem Deus vincit* (B.); 11.35: "Novissime devicta est ab eo mors." *Devictio autem mortis nihil aliud est quam resurrectio ex mortuis, cum interitus corruptione cessante, vivae iam caelestisque naturae constituatur aeternitas* (B.).

27. *omnis*: Feder takes this word as a genitive modifying *nostrae carnis*; but to consider it nominative with *infirmitas* seems to place the emphasis where it belongs and give a better balance to the word-order.

28. *connata*: is an Hilarian expression already used in I 38, though in a slightly different sense. Buzna remarks that in his prose works S. Hilary

Per hanc in altos scandam laeta cum meo
 30 caelos resurgens glorioso corpore.
 Quantis fidelis spebus Christum credidi,

often uses *concorporalis* for *connatus*, and he compares De Trin. 8.50: Reddidit ("explained") apostolus spiritalibus sacramentum ("mystery") concorporationis . . . Primogenitus ex mortuis est, ut in omnibus teneat primum, dum nobis concorporalis est, qui Dei imago est.

For the thought in II 27–28, cf. De Trin. 9.7: Postremo moritur ultioni, dum et homo noster in Deo permanet, et infirmitatum nostrarum passiones Deo sociae sunt, et spiritales nequitiae ac malitiae potestates triumpho carnis Deo per carnem moriente subduntur (B.).

29. *scandam*: as an intransitive verb *scando* is not frequent until after the Augustan period. In the early hymns the usual construction with both the simple verb and its compounds is the accusative of the direct object. See Forcellini s. v. Cf. Anal. Hym. 51.92 "Optatus votis omnium" 4:

Conscendit caelos arduos,

and line 32:

Quae possit caelos scandere;

"Hymnum dicat" 39: Scandere Crucem;

Anal. Hym. 51.8 "Deus qui caeli lumen es" 11:

Caeli scandens verticem;

Anal. Hym. 51.94 "Aeterne Rex altissime" 5–6:

Scandens tribunal dexterarum

Patris;

S. Ambros., "Iam surgit hora tertia" 2:

Qua Christus ascendit Crucem;

Ennodius, Carm. 1.16.1: Iam Christus ascendit polum;

Anal. Hym. 51.98.1: Iam Christus astra ascenderat;

Anal. Hym. 50.104: "Hymnum canamus gloriae" 33–34 (ascribed by Mearns to Bede):

Binae cohortes aethera

Christum secutae ascenderent.

But cf. "Optatus votis omnium" (cited above) 5:

Ascendens in altum Dominus (perhaps from Eph. 4.8:

Ascendens in altum).

30. *glorioso* = *glorificato*. Cf. II 36: Conformi secum.

For the thought in II 29–30, cf. In Psalm. 2.41: His corporibus dissolutis et casu mortis confractis pro voluntate artificis restauratio afferetur . . . Secundum Dei voluntatem resurgentium corporum instauratio est futura

Rising again, I through this nature shall ascend in joy to the heights of Heaven with my glorified body.

With what strong hopes have I faithfully believed in Christ,

. . . *Confracta reparabit, non ex alia aliqua, sed ex vetere atque ipsa originis suae materie speciem illis complaciti sibi decoris impertiens, ut corruptibilium corporum in incorruptionis gloriam resurrectione non interitu naturam perimat, sed qualitatis condicione demutet. Non enim aliud corpus, quamvis in aliud, resurget (1 Cor. 15.42-44) . . . Fit ergo demutatio, sed non affertur abolitio; 67.19: Et quia ultra humanae spei fidem sit, eum terrenae carnis corruptionem in caelestem gloriam transtulisse; 67.21: Quia assumptae ab eo (Filio Dei) carnis haec virtus sit, ut naturae nostrae corruptionem in gloriam caelestem post exitus mortis efferat (B.); 138.22: Terreni enim corporis natura ascensionem hanc (in caelum) nisi in caelestem gloriam demutata non obtinet (Mey.).*

31. *spebus*: ablative. Words of the fifth declension are rare in the plural, especially in the oblique cases, but such use is an Hilarian characteristic. Cf. *De Trin.* 1.14: *Mens spebus suis laeta* (abl.) (B.); 7.39: *Per demutationem nominum et specierum* (Q.); 11.43: *Humanis suis spebus* (dat.) (B.); 12.2: *Incertis . . . otiosis . . . spebus* (abl.) (B.); *Instruct. Psalm.* 18: *Psalmi igitur, qui inscribentur "in finem", ita intellegendi sunt, ut ex perfectis atque absolutis bonorum aeternorum doctrinis et spebus existant* (abl.); In *Psalm.* 61.8: *Non enim haec spebus nostris bona sunt coaeterna* (Q.). See *Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre*³, 1.577-579.

31. *Christum credidi*: numerous verbs usually intransitive in Classical Latin are occasionally transitive in Classical, later and Ecclesiastical Latin. See *Draeger* 1.332ff. Cf. *De Trin.* 4.15: *Eorum . . . qui Deum crederent*; *Prud., Perist.* 10.685: *Christum credere*; *Apoth.* 579:

*Ipsa coruscantis monitum sacra Virgo ministri
credidit;*

Perist. 5.345-348:

*Tunc ipse manceps carceris
et vinculorum ianitor,
ut fert vetustas conscia,
repente Christum credidit.*

The instance in our hymn has been omitted from the *Thesaurus*. *Credere in* w. acc. is frequent in Eccl. Latin: cf. *De Trin.* 6.48: *Ut credamus in Dei Filium*; *Symbolum Nicaenum*: *Credo in unum Deum*. We also have *credere in* w. abl., as In *Psalm.* 118.11.1: *Quia in verbis Dei credat* (Q.). *Quillacq* lists several other intransitive verbs used transitively by S. Hilary: *maledicere* (In *Psalm.* 119.19), *triumphare* (In *Psalm.* 68.14), and *exuere* (*De Trin.* 9.10).

in se qui natus me per carnem suscipit!

Renata sum — o vitae laetae exordia! —
novisque vivo Christiana legibus.

35 Sanctis perenne munus praestat hoc Dei,
conformi secum vivant post haec corpore.

32. insequi *A.* suscipit *metri gratia* cf. v. 38 *Mas Mey Buz Fed* suscepit
A Gam Dre. 33. sumo *susp. Mey.* lęę ex lęta *A laeta Dre.* 34.
novis quae *Gam.* 35. perhenne *A.* prestat *A Mey* praestat *Gam Dre*
Mas Buz Fed. 36. corpore *Gam* corpora *A.*

32. Meyer construed thus: Qui, natus per carnem, me in se suscipit. Buzna thinks it better to interpret the words: Qui, natus, me per carnem (suam) in se suscipit, believing that the mystery of the Holy Eucharist is signified therein. He asserts that S. Hilary always uses *renasci* (v. 33) in connection with Baptism. For example see note on v. 33. This is a baptismal hymn. He says that it is well known that in the early Church it was customary for those converted and baptized to receive the Holy Sacrament at the same time. He interprets In Matth. 15.8–10 as referring to the same ceremony, and that passage seems to mean that those who are baptized at the Easter season fast and receive the Holy Sacrament to strengthen them on their journey. He then quotes many excerpts, several of some length, from De Trin. 8.13–16 where our reception of the Body of Christ is discussed, and stresses 8.14 (end): Est ergo in nobis ipse per carnem et sumus in eo. I am inclined to think that Buzna may therefore be correct when he says: Verba igitur versus ita esse conjungenda velim: "qui natus, me per carnem (suam) in se suscipit," mysteriumque Eucharistiae hisce significatum crediderim.

33. *renata sum*: the poem being uttered by a subject of feminine gender, Gamurrini supposed it was a woman and thought she must be the author. Mason first suggested that the speaker is the Christian soul (*anima*), and all the later editors have followed him.

The soul is now reborn in Baptism. Cf. S. Johann. 3.3: Nisi quis renatus fuerit denuo, non potest videre regnum Dei (F.); 3.5: Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest introire in regnum Dei (F.). In Psalm. 2.41: Commortui et consepulti Domino in baptismo in novitate vitae ambulemus et in novum Christi hominem deposito vetere renascamur (F.) (cf. Rom. 6.4); 64.15: Est autem nobis per sacramentum baptismi renatis maximum gaudium, cum quaedam in nobis Spiritus Sancti initia sentimus (F.); 143.13: Fidelium ad innocentiam renatorum verba; De Trin. 9.9: "Consepulti ei in baptismo, in quo et conresurrexistis per fidem operationis Dei, qui excitavit eum a mortuis" (cf. Coloss. 2.11–12). Circumcidimur . . . non

Who by His Birth taketh me to Himself through His Flesh!

I am born again—O the beginning of a happy life!—and I am living a Christian soul under new laws.

This lasting gift of God (Christ) offereth to His saints, to live hereafter with Him in a body like His own.

circumcisione carnali, sed circumcisione Christi, id est, in novum hominem renati; 9.51: Et renascens non confessus es ex Maria Filium Dei natum? Cf. also Fortunatus' (?) Baptismal Hymn, "Tibi laus perennis, Auctor" (Edition of Leo, *Spuriorum* Appendix 4, p. 383) 31–32:

In morte consequuti,
Christi fide renati.

33. *sum* — *o*: the MS. reads *sum o*. Meyer thought that perhaps S. Hilary wrote *sūmō*, but *exordia* as a nominative of exclamation is paralleled in I 53, and should be retained. Although *sūmō* is much better metrically, such substitutions as *sum* — *ō* requires are constantly found in these poems. See section on Meter in the Introduction.

34. *Christiana*: this word first appears in Latin literature in Tac., *An.* 15.44, then in Plin., *Ep.* 10.96 and 97, Suet., *Ner.* 16, and Tertullian *passim*. See the Thesaurus.

34. *novis legibus*: abl. of attendant circumstance. Delbrück (*Vergleichende Syntax*, § 195) calls it *Instrumentalis der Begleitenden Umstände*. See Bennett, *The Latin Language* § 338. The expression refers to the new law of Christ, which supersedes the old law of death. Cf. Rom. 6.14: *Peccatum enim vobis non dominabitur: non enim sub lege estis, sed sub gratia*; 7.6: *Nunc autem soluti sumus a lege mortis, in qua detinebamur, ita ut serviamus in novitate Spiritus, et non in vetustate litterae*; 8.2: *Lex enim Spiritus vitae in Christo Iesu liberavit me a lege peccati et mortis*.

For the idea in II 33–34, cf. S. Ambros., "Hic est dies verus Dei" 21–24:

Quid hoc potest sublimius
ut culpa quaerat gratiam
metumque solvat caritas
reddatque mors vitam novam?

For the thought in II 31–34, cf. De Trin. 9.8: (*Fideles homines*) *per fidei spem (v. 31) in vitam aeternam regenerati ac regenerandi omnes nunc in Christi corpore manent* (Mey.).

35. *perenne*: cf. II 43 and Prud., *Perist.* 10.596 quoted on I 1.

35. *Dei*: Meyer thought *Deus* would be much more natural, but the subject is clearly Christ, as is shown by II 36: *conformi secum corpore*.

36. *conformi corpore*: cf. Phil. 3.20–21: *Unde etiam Salvatorem expec-*

Terror recedat mortis tandem, Mors, tuae;
sinu me laetam patriarcha suscipit.

Vivam locata post haec in caelestibus,
40 Dei sedere carnem certa a dexteris.

Xriste, reversus caelos victor in tuos
memento carnis, in qua natus es, meae.

Ymnos perennes angelorum cum choris
in hoc resurgens laeta psallam corpore.

37. mortis *A* sortis *Mas.* 38. lætam *ex* lectam *A* lætā *add. in mg.*
40. dextris *A* *Gam.* 43. perhennes *A.*

tamus Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, qui reformabit corpus humilitatis nostrae, configuratum corpori claritatis suae, secundum operationem qua etiam possit subiicere sibi omnia (F.); Tract. Myst. 1.2: Quae (caro) per Spiritum in Domino nata de Virgine, in novam et alienam a se speciem mutata, conformis effecta est gloriae spiritali secundum apostolum; 2.3: Nos ex homine sumus conformes Deo futuri; De Trin. 11.36: Subdimur autem gloriae corporis sui, ut in ea simus claritate, qua regnat in corpore: quia corpori eius conformes erimus.

36. *vivant*: volitive subjunctive depending on the idea of permission in *munus praestat*, v. 35. For this mood without *ut*, cf. Plaut., Trin. 1179: Videas licet; Am. 806: Sine dicat; Cist. 454: Sine dicam; Mil. Glo. 54: Sivi viverent; Verg., Aen. 2.669–670: Sinite instaurata revisam proelia. See Bennett, Syntax of Early Latin 1.234–236.

37. *mortis, Mors, tuae*: cf. II 17. Mason's proposed reading *sortis* for *mortis* is wholly unnecessary.

38. *patriarcha*: Abraham. For Greek words in S. Hilary, see Proem. 1: *propheta* and note. Cf. De Trin. 4.28: Illic singularem honorem patriarchae fides confitetur. For the thought, cf. S. Luc. 16.22–23: Factum est autem ut moreretur mendicus, et portaretur ab angelis in sinum Abrahae. Mortuus est autem et dives, et sepultus est in Inferno, . . . vidit Abraham a longe, et Lazarum in sinu eius; In Psalm. 118.6.8: Novit esse, secundum evangelicum divitem et pauperem Lazarum, legem exemptae a corpore animae, per quam alia ab alia chao impenetrabili separetur (Mey.); 120.16: Sed futuri boni expectatio est, cum exeuntes de corpore ad introitum illum regni caelestis per custodiam Domini fideles omnes reservabuntur, in sinu scilicet interim Abrahae collocati, quo adire impios interiectum chaos inhibet, quo usque introeundi rursum in regnum caelorum tempus adveniat (F.); 138.22: Humanae ista lex necessitatis est, ut consepultis corporibus ad inferos animae descendant (Mey.).

O Grave, let the terror of thy death at last depart; the patriarch (Abraham) receiveth me in exultation to his bosom.

After this I shall live with my home among the company of Heaven, assured that the flesh sitteth at the right hand of God.

O Christ, returning victoriously to Thy heavenly realm, remember my flesh in which Thou wast born.

Rising again in this body, joyfully shall I sing endless hymns with the angelic choirs.

38. *suscipit*: the present tense is used for vividness instead of the future, for there is nothing to indicate that the person whose soul is speaking has as yet died.

For the thought in II 35-39 Buzna compares In Psalm. 67.37: *Mirabilis ergo in sanctis* (v. 35) *Deus est* (Psalm. 67.36), *quos, cum conformes* (v. 36) *gloriae corporis sui fecerit, per se, qui mediator est, etiam in unitatem paternae maiestatis assumet, dum . . . ille . . . per societatem carnis in nobis est, quos in regnum praeparatum illis ante constitutionem mundi obtinendum locaverit* (v. 39), *quibus absorpta morte* (v. 37) *immortalem vitam aeternamque reddiderit*.

39. *post haec*: seems to mean after the time spent in Abraham's bosom, that is, after the Resurrection of the Dead. This fits very well with what S. Hilary has said In Psalm. 120.16, quoted above in note on II 38. *Post haec* in 36 also refers to the time of the final union of the souls with their bodies.

40. *sedere certa*: cf. Cic. Att. 2.19.5: *Certi sumus periisse omnia. Carnem* is subject accusative.

40. *a dexteris Dei*: cf. Matth. 25.33-34: *Et statuet oves quidem a dextris suis, haedos autem a sinistris. Tunc dicet Rex his qui a dextris eius erunt: "Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi."*

41. Cf. the Easter sequence, Daniel, Thesaurus Hymnologicus 2.95: *Mors et vita duello conflixere mirando: Dux vitae mortuus regnat vivus.*

42. Cf. Anal. Hym. 51.49 "Christe, Redemptor omnium" 9-12:

Memento, salutis Auctor,
quod nostri quondam corporis
ex inlibata Virgine
nascendo formam sumpseris.

43. *angelorum cum choris*: cf. Prud., Perist. 3.48: *Angelico comitata choro; 5.373-374 Candidi . . . sanctorum chori; In Psalm. 91.10: Cum angelorum choris hymnus aeternus.*

44. *psallere* = ψάλλειν, originally "to sing to the accompaniment of a stringed

- 45 Zelavit olim me in morte Satanas:
regnantem cernat tecum totis saeculis.

III

Adae carnis gloriosae et caduci corporis

45. zelabit Mey. 46. saeculis] add. FINIT Item alius A.

1. cernis Gam cernuata Mas. gloriosa Mey Buz Fed gloriam A Gam
Dre gloria Mas gloriosae Fed in Epileg.

instrument," but sometimes, as here and in the following quotations, used in the general sense of *cano*. Cf. Anal. Hym. 51.7 "Tempus noctis surgentibus" 5:

Chorus sanctorum psallimus;

Anal. Hym. 51.16 "Perfectum Trinum numerum" 4:

Nonam dicentes psallimus;

Anal. Hym. 51.14.1-2:

Postmatutinis laudibus

quas Trinitati psallimus.

45. *zelavit*: from ζηλω, Eccl. Latin. Meyer proposed to change *zelavit* to *zelabit* because the soul of a newly baptized person still alive is speaking and the sense requires, he thought, "When I once come to death, and it must be decided whether the soul separated from my body shall come to the place of the godless or the place of the righteous, Satan will claim me, that is, for the place of the godless" (412). But, as Feder points out, the poet speaks not of bodily death but of the spiritual death of sin in which the soul was before Baptism; cf. II 33-34.

45. *in morte* therefore = *in peccato*; the classical language would require *mortuam*. Cf. Proem. 2: *in carne* and the note. The reference is to Ephes. 2.1-7 which in part reads: Et vos cum essetis mortui delictis et peccatis vestris . . . et cum essemus mortui peccatis, (Deus) convivificavit nos in Christo . . . et consedere fecit in caelestibus (cf. v. 39-40) in Christo Iesu (B.).

45. *Satanas*: from the Hebrew; used by Tertullian. The Greek is Διάβολος. *Satanas* is used again in III 3; *Diabolus*, In Psalm. 14.14: Renuntiantes Diabolo, saeculo, peccatis; also 51.4.

46. *totis saeculis*: ablative denoting duration of time; this construction of a substantive with a numeral or an adjective meaning "all" occurs occasionally in the best prose of all periods, and in inscriptions; it is especially common in the late period, in the Vulgate in particular. Cf. S. Luc. 13.11: Et ecce mulier, quae habebat spiritum infirmitatis annis decem et octo.

For the thought, cf. Psalm. 114.8-9: (Deus) eripuit animam meam de

Satan once loved me ardently in the death (of sin): let him behold me reigning with Thee throughout the ages.

HYMN III

In the person of the Heavenly Adam let us celebrate in song again the struggles of the old Adam (who was) once of glorious

morte . . . Placebo Domino in regione vivorum (B.); In Psalm. 60.5: Haec enim haereditas sancti est, vita et incorruptio et regnum et coaeterna Deo habitatio . . . Dies enim aeterni sunt regis, . . . quia sancti, qui peccati servi non erunt, reges sunt . . . Ceterum ipse in conspectu Dei manebit aeternus, iam omnibus, quos redemit, in reges caelorum et cohaeredes aeternitatis assumptis, tradens eos regnum Deo Patri (B.). Also cf. Anal. Hym. 51.51 "Iesus refulsit omnium" 31-2:

Raptosque nos a Tartaro
regnare fac tecum polo.

1ff. For the general theme, cf. Coloss. 2.15: (Christus) exspolians principatus et potestates traduxit confidenter, palam triumphans illos in semetipso (B.).

1. *gloriosae*: the MS. reads *gloriam* but the meter requires an extra syllable. To remedy this defect Mason proposed to read: Adae cernuata gloria et caduci corporis, which would mean "When the glory of Adam and of the perishable body had been thrown to the ground." *Cernuare* "to throw or fall head foremost" is ante- and post-classical, as examples of which Mason exhibited passages from Julius Solinus (p. 194, Mommsen) and Prudentius (Contra Symm. 1.350) (For several other examples see Thesaurus). He inferred that a copyist was puzzled by this rare word and used a substitute for it. Meyer wrote *carnis gloriosa* and joined *gloriosa* to *proelia*. Feder followed him in his text, but added *gloriosae* as a conjecture (meaning *in paradisi gloria*, and derived from In Matth. 3.5, quoted below) which he adopted in his Epilegomena. Although *gloriosum certamen* occurs De Trin. 1.34: Ad ipsam palaestram gloriosi certaminis magnique (F.) and In Psalm. 118.11.8 (F.), still, by this correction, in Feder's judgment, *caduci corporis* and *carnis gloriosae* balance each other very well, and the two adjectives produce a strong antithesis. Feder (Epileg.) says "S. Hilary distinguishes between the first glorious Adam, the first fallen Adam, and the second <or> heavenly Adam. In Christ he wishes to celebrate in song the struggles through which Satan, the seducer of the first man both in the glorious Paradise and in the fallen state, was defeated." Cf. in the description of the temptation of Christ, In Matth. 3.5, Cibo Adam perlexerat et de paradisi gloria in peccati locum, id est, in regionem

in caelesti 'rursum Adam concinamus proelia,
per quae primum Satanias est Adam victus in novo.

Hostis fallax saeculorum et dirae mortis artifex

- 5 iam consiliis toto in orbe viperinis consitis
ad salutem nil restare spei humanae existimat.

2. concinamus *A*, corr. *Gam*. 3. que *A* *Mey* corr. *Gam*. 6. ad salutem nil *Mey Buz Fed* nichil (nil *Dre* nihil *Gam Mas*) ad salutem *A Gam Dre Mas*. restare *Brandes* (*Rhein. Mus. LXIV 89*) *Mey Buz Fed* prestare *A praestare Gam Dre Mas*. spem humanam *Dre*.

vetitae arboris, deduxerat (F.). Cf. also In Psalm. 63.10: Hunc (Christum) . . . caducae carni claritatem spiritalis gloriae intulisse (Weyman).

1. *caduci*: cf. II 25 and the note.

With the entire poem compare Fortunatus' "Victory Hymn" (2.2) beginning:

Pange, lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis.

For this hymn, as Mason notes (428-429), Fortunatus borrowed the meter and many ideas from our poem, and his song in turn served in many respects as a pattern for the Eucharistic Hymn of S. Thomas Aquinas:

Pange, lingua, gloriosi corporis mysterium.

2. *Adam*, like Hebrew names in general, may be indeclinable; sometimes it has a genitive *Adae* and a form *Adāmus* declined regularly. Cf. Proem. 1: *David* and the note.

For *caelestis Adam*, cf. In Psalm. 68.4: Secundus Adam . . . de caelis descendens (B.); 68.23: Adam e caelis secundus (B.); 122.3: Caelestis ergo est secundus Adam et idcirco caelestis, quia Verbum caro factum est, ex Spiritu scilicet et Deo homo natus (1 Cor. 15.47) (F.). For the thought, cf. 1. Cor. 15.47: Primus homo de terra, terrenus; secundus homo de caelo, caelestis.

2. *rursum* seems to imply one or more hymns of S. Hilary on the same theme, which are now lost, but it may, however, imply the work of another writer.

2. *concinere* = "sing with one accord," i. e. in a congregation or group. Cf. Prud., Cath. 9.25:

Ecce quem vates vetustis concinebant saeculis.

The MS. reads *concinamus*, regarded as an error by all editors. Festus defines *concinare* as *apte ponere*, and the word sometimes is used of literary composition as Anal. Hym. 51.305.1:

Cantemus in omni die

concinantes varie;

"Hymnum dicat" 2: Concinantes laudes (read so by Blume from one MS.)

flesh and then of fallen body, for through these struggles Satan was first defeated by the new Adam.

The deceitful foe of all the ages and the author of dreaded death, having strewn his serpent-like devices over all the earth, thinketh that no human hope remaineth for salvation.

and 65: *Concinnemus gloriam* (read so by Blume from several MSS.). But in these three instances there is confusion in the MSS. between *concinere* and *concinnare*, as is frequently the case with these words. The correction makes decidedly better sense in view of the subjunctive, and the fact that *concinere* very often refers to musical composition. See the lexicons and the Thesaurus.

3. *in* in Eccl. Latin may denote the agent, as *ab* does in Classical Latin; also the cause. For the thought and the construction, cf. In Matth. 3.1: *Sed ita dignum nequitia eius et scelere erat, ut in eo, cuius morte et calamitatibus gloriabatur, homine vinceretur* (Mey.). See Nunn, 110. For the frequent occurrence of this use of the preposition in S. Hieronymus, and numerous other examples, see Goelzer, 346-347.

4. Cf. In Matth. 3.3: *Fallax Diabolus et ad traducendum artifex callidissimus* (F.), Anal. Hym. 51.19 "Deus qui certis legibus" 9-10:

Hostis ne fallax incitet
lascivis corda gaudiis;

In Psalm. 68.8: *Veniens hic mundi princeps nihilque inveniens, peccati tamen poenam, id est, ius mortis exseruit, per quod humanae mortis auctor . . . iudicatur* (B.).

5. *consiliis viperinis*: Satan is often termed a serpent in Scripture. Cf. Genesis 3 with Apoc. S. Johann. 12.9: *Et proiectus est draco ille magnus, serpens antiquus, qui vocatur Diabolus, et Satanas, qui seducit universum orbem*, and 20.2: *Et apprehendit (Angelus) draconem, serpentem antiquum, qui est Diabolus et Satanas, et ligavit eum per annos mille*. Also cf. De Trin. 5.2: *Viperae doctrinae fraudulentiam*. S. Hilary uses *viperinus* In Matth. 24.9: *Atque ideo et serpentes et viperina generatio sunt*. The word is also found in Prud., Praef. 2 in Apoth. 3:

An viperina non cavemus dogmata,
et nescientes labimur?

6. *ad salutem* = *salutis*. S. Hilary, as do other later writers, often uses a noun governed by *ad* (less frequently by *in*), where in classical prose a noun in the genitive or the gerund or gerundive construction would be employed. (Cf. Proem. 2: *in carne* and the note.) S. Hilary has the same expression In Matth. 16.5: *Nihil spei tribuit ad salutem* (= *salutis*) (F.); In Psalm. 51.19: *Divinae legis ordo ex illo elementorum (caelestium) . . . motu ad belli moram* (= *ad bellum morandum*) *restitit* (Q.); De Trin. 10.59: *Deus ergo*

- Gaudet aris, gaudet templis, gaudet sanie victimae;
 gaudet falsis, gaudet stupris, gaudet belli sanguine;
 gaudet caeli Conditorem ignorari gentibus.
- 10 Inter tanta dum exultat nostrae cladis funera,
 Deo audit in excelsis nuntiari gloriam
 et in terra pacem hominum voluntatis optimae.
 Terret coetus angelorum laetus ista praedicans;
 terret Christum terris natum nuntians pastoribus,
- 15 magnum populis hinc futurum desperatis gaudium.
 Errat partes in diversas tantis rebus anxius;
 quaerit audax, ecquis hic sit tali dignus nuntio,

7. sanie *A*. 8. strupris *A*. 9. ignorare *Am1*. gentibus *A* a
 gentibus *Gam*. 12. optime *A Mey*. 13. predicans *A Mey*. 17. querit
A Mey. ecquis *Mey Buz Fed* et quis *A Gam Dre Mas*.

nec ponit (animam) ad mortem (= ad moriendum), nec resunit ad vitam (= ad vivendum) (Q.); In Matth. 21.5: In redemptionem (= ad redimendum) enim venisse domus David praedicabatur (Q.). For other examples from S. Hilary, see Quillacq, 122-123.

For *salus* in the Christian sense of "salvation", cf. Prud., Perist. 10.470:
 (Deus) spondet salutem perpetem credentibus;

Cath. 4.12: Salutis Auctor; 9.20 quoted in note on I 44: *Ortus*; Apoth. 238: Haec est nostra salus.

6. *restare*: the conjecture of Brandes, which he made without comment except to give the MS. reading also.

7. Feder notes the very striking combination of anaphora and word-rhyme in vv. 7-8, and compares "Hymnum dicat" 20, 27, and 67.

7. *sanie* = *sanguine*; used apparently for the sake of variety on account of *sanguine* v. 8.

8. *falsis*: "false expressions"; cf. "Hymnum dicat" 34: (Christus) falsis grassatur offerendus Pontio, where *falsis* = *falsis testibus* (F.).

8. *stupris*: cf. In Psalm. 14.6: Sitque ei non corpus stupris contaminatum. These two words are used together In Psalm. 129.8: Ergo si Deus iniquitatum recorderetur, quis sustinebit furta, falsa testimonia, caedes, stupra, periuria?

9. *Conditorem*: a favorite word in the Christian poets. Cf. Prud., Cath. 12.154: Orbis Conditor (also in Apoth. 894); 4.9: Rerum Conditor. So also *condere*; cf. I 63, 68 and 75.

10. *cladis*: cf. Fortunatus 2.1.5: Ubi mundum a clade redemit. Sedul., Paschal. Carm. 3.45: Populos a clade levavit.

He rejoiceth in the altars, he rejoiceth in the temples, he rejoiceth in the gore of the victim, he rejoiceth in the lies, he rejoiceth in the debauchery, he rejoiceth in the bloodshed of the conflict, he rejoiceth that the Creator of Heaven is unknown to the world.

While he boasteth amid this great carnage of our destruction, he heareth announced: "Glory to God in the highest and on earth the peace of perfect will toward men."

He is frightened by the happy host of angels thus proclaiming; he is frightened by their annunciation to the shepherds that Christ is born on earth, and that hence shall be a great joy for the hopeless nations.

He wandereth in various directions, troubled by such serious tidings: boldly he seeketh to learn whether there is anyone here worthy of such an announcement, observing that nothing out of

For the thought in III 7-10, cf. In Psalm. 118. 14. 9: *Diabolus, cum Dominum temptare ausus est, suum esse saeculum gloriatur* (B.).

11-12. *Deo . . . optimae*: from S. Luc. 2.14: *Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis* (F.).

11. *excelsis*: substantive; cf. Sallust, Cat. 51.12: *In excelso aetatem agunt* (i. e. "in a high position"); especially frequent in Eccl. Latin, as Psalm. 148.1: *Laudate eum in excelsis*; S. Marc. 11.10: *Hosanna in excelsis*; S. Luc. 19.38: *Benedictus, qui venit Rex in nomine Domini, pax in caelo et gloria in excelsis*.

12. *optimae* is used *metri gratia* for *bonae*, as Weyman observes.

13. *coetus angelorum*: cf. In Psalm. 143.10: *Pastores aërium coetum et sonum vident atque audiunt*.

14. *nuntians*: cf. S. Luc. 2.10: *Et dixit illis angelus: "Nolite timere: ecce enim evangelizo vobis gaudium magnum, quod erit omni populo, quia natus est vobis hodie Salvator, qui est Christus Dominus in civitate David"* (F.).

16. *tantis rebus anxius*: cf. In Matth. 4.14: *Igitur post ieiunium dierum quadraginta Satanas tantis suspicionibus anxius usque ad temptandi erupit audaciam, ingens in Iesu pertimescens caelestis molitionis* ("undertaking") *arcanum* (B.). For a further discussion of Satan's anxiety and its causes, see In Psalm. 64.10 (B.).

16-29. The lines are summed up, In Matth. 3.1, as follows: *Igitur istius temporis metu, in temptando eo quem hominem contuebatur, sumpsit temeritatem* (F.).

17. Cf. III 29.

nihil ultra, quam commune est, terris ortum contuens.

- Cernit tamen is, quod Iohannes in desertis praedicet
20 aquis mersans in Iordanis cunctis paenitentiam,
quam sequatur confessorum criminum remissio.

Inter turbas, quae frequentes mergebantur, accipit
vocem e caelo praedicantem: Meus est hic Filius;
hunc audite! hic dilectus, in quo mihi complacet.

- 25 Cernit hominem, cernit corpus quod Adae perlexerat;

-
18. nihil *A Mey Buz*. 19. is, quod *susp. Mey Fed* his quod *A* his
(*sc. desertis*) quod *Gam Mas Buz* [his], quod *Dre*. predicet *A Mey*.
20. poenitentiam *A et om*. 22. frequenter *Gam Dre*. 23. predicantem
A Mey. 24. hanc (u s. l. m2) *A*. hic] hinc *A*. michi *A Mey Buz*.
25. Adae, quod *Mey Buz* corpus, quod *Gam Mas Fed* corpus quod *Dre*. per-
lexerat *Dre Mey Buz Fed* perlex erat *A Gam Mas*.
-

18. *nihil . . . contuens*: cf. In Matth. 16.9: Ut Dei munus est, Christum in Spiritu Deum nosse, ita Diaboli opus est, Christum in homine nescire (B.).

18. *ultra quam*: cf. I 17: *extra quam* and the note.

21. *confessorum*: in a passive sense; a common usage in S. Hilary. Cf. In Psalm. 58.4: Confessi peccati psalmus; 66.6: Confessorum peccatorum; De Trin. 9.53: Tenet in se naturae potestatem, professā auctoritate naturae; Tract. Myst. 2.9: Confitetur Deus, and Nativitatem contestatam corpoream; Anonymous Epistle of Dido to Aeneas (ed. Chubb) 111: Confessus pietate dolor. See Quillacq, 105.

21. *remissio*: Pliny, Ep. 8.2.6 uses the word for the cancelling of debts: Benignitate remissionis; similarly Tacitus, An. 4.13: Remissione tributi in triennium, and Suet., Iul. 20. An abstract use of the word gives the Christian sense. Cf. In Psalm. 119.14: Non est autem dubium, peccatorum eum ablu-tionem et remissionem attulisse; 66.2: Peccatorum remissio non probitatis est meritum, sed spontaneae indulgentiae voluntas; Anal. Hym. 51.53 "Audi, benigne Conditor" 7-8:

Ad te reversis exhibe
remissionis gratiam.

22. *turbas, frequentes*: tautology.

22. *mergebantur*: cf. Anal. Hym. 51.51 "Iesus refulsit omnium" 17-20:
Felix Iohannes mergere
illum tremescit flumine
potens suo qui sanguine
peccata cosmi tergere;

Anal. Hym. 14.41 "Inluxit orbi iam dies" 19:

Iordane mersus hac die.

the ordinary is born on earth.

Yet he seeth that John baptizing in the Jordan's waters preacheth in the wilderness repentance to all, followed by the remission of sins which they confess.

Amid the large crowds which were being baptized, he heareth a voice from Heaven declaring: "This is My Son; hear ye Him! This is My beloved Son in Whom I am well pleased."

He seeth the man, he seeth the body of Adam which he had

24. *dilectus*: cf. Verg., Aen. 4.31: O luce magis dilecta sorori; passages quoted from the Vulgate in note on III 22-24 below, and Hebr. 6.9: Confidimus autem de vobis, dilectissimi, meliora, et viciniore salutem.

24. *in quo*: *in* is causal. Cf. note on III 3: *in*.

24. *complacet*: except in Columella, ante- and post-classical. Its use with *in* and the ablative is confined almost entirely to the Itala and Vulgate editions of the Scriptures. See the Thesaurus.

22-24. Cf. S. Matth. 3.17 (Baptism): Et ecce vox de caelis dicens: "Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacui" (F.); Matth. 17.5 (Transfiguration): Et ecce vox de nube, dicens: "Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui: ipsum audite" (F.); S. Luc. 9.35 (Transfiguration): Et vox facta est de nube, dicens: "Hic est Filius meus dilectus, ipsum audite" (F.); 2 S. Petr. 1.17 (Transfiguration): Accipiens enim a Deo Patre honorem et gloriam, voce delapsa ad eum huiusmodi a magnifica gloria: "Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacui, ipsum audite" (F.). Weyman notes that S. Hilary here and in De Trin. 9.20 follows a different text of the Bible than in De Trin. 8.25: Voce testante de caelo: Filius meus es tu: ego hodie genui te, and in Matth. 2. 6: Vox deinde de caelis ita loquitur, Filius . . . te where is the combination of Matth. 3.17 with Psalm. 2.7. For an exhaustive study of S. Hilary's methods of Biblical citation, see Feder in his Studien 3. 110-136.

For the thought, cf. Anal. Hym. 51.51 "Iesus refulsit omnium" 21-22:

Vox ergo Prolem de polis
testatur excelsi Patris;

Sedul., Pasch. Carm. 3.291-292:

Sidereoque sono "Meus est hic Filius" aiens
ostendit verbo genitum vox patria Christum.

25. Cf. In Matth. 3.1: Adam enim perlexerat, et in mortem fallendo traduxerat (F.); 3.5: Cibo Adam perlexerat et de paradisi gloria in peccati locum, id est in regionem vetitae arboris deduxerat (F.) and (Creator eius) quem neque cibo perlexerat, nec loco moverat (F.).

nihil ultra vox honoris afferebat desuper;
scit terrenam subiacere mortis legi originem.

Ad temptandum multas artes priscae fraudis commovet;
quaerit audax tempus, quod sit

* * * * *
* * * * *
* * * * *
* * * * *

26. nichil *A Mey Buz.*
Fed quid *Gam Dre Mas.*

28. fraudes *A.* 29. quod *A Mey Buz*
sit] fraudi suae commodum *suppl. Mey.*

27. *subiacēre*: used in the same sense in Apul., Met. 11.19 (end): Vitam quae multis casibus subiacet and De Trin. 9.72: (Deus) non subiacet naturae legibus, a quo legem omnis natura sortitur.

27. *mortis legi*: cf. II 23: *lege* and the note.

enticed. The voice was imparting no further honor from above. He knoweth that an earthly origin is subject to the law of death.

For the temptation he mustereth many devices of his ancient fraud. He boldly seeketh a time which may be <convenient for his cunning>.

28. *temptandum*: cf. In Psalm. 118.1.15: Scit apostolus derelinqui nos ad temptandum (Q.).

28. *priscae fraudis*: Cf. In Matth. 3.5: Tenens ordinem fraudis antiquae (F.).

29. *quod sit*: evidently begins a relative clause of purpose.

Buzna conjectures from the corresponding chapter (3.5) in the commentary In Matth. that the rest of the poem dealt with the threefold temptation of Christ by Satan and the victory of the Son of God over the adversary.

INDEX VERBORUM

* indicates that the word is not in A, but is introduced into the text of this edition as an emendation.

° indicates that the word is not in A, but is offered as an emendation by other editors, though not accepted in the text of this edition.

† indicates that the word is found in A, but not accepted in the text of this edition.

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Felix pphe deuid
p'm; op'or'm;
in carnis xp'm
mar' in aeth' : l'm d'm
op'or' quod ma n'it'at'
al'at' in al'at'o .

Exatē quā carpitē possit
interis humeris
arantē filius in pacē
assum quē penes hū pacē
dignus qui gēnitus est
Filius in dñm .

Felix quodamur fide
 Resurramus penitus
 opusculis et sequi
 viri lapides et de
 pteculis huius
 Agemus de
 Rende loquimur et de
 uisus ut gemas
 Quicquid inest sibi
 et in deus gl
 Totum in unigenitum
 et de deo dñm.

Hinc unus missus bonus
Ipsam quod dicitur
exatque inuicem su:
cum uellet in alio

Quis sciat? Is...
 Quis sciat? Is...
 Is qui uerit patet? Si ueritas
 cum deo est omnia
 Non autem in ipsis
 a se deo est corpus
 euncat quod sua sunt
 cum deo est habens
Respice pignus dei
 cognatum cui sit
 Omne deus pignus
 Nil nunc agitur deo
 Sed nuncium simul est
 Quicquid est deus
Lumen fulgor alumnus
 Deus qui uerit
 Substantia de deo
 uerit non aliud habens
 Omnis unigenitus
 Quam inaccessibilis patet
 Quam deus hoc opus est
 Eritus uer
 In corruptibilis
 Opus qui capere uerit
 Sicut spiritus uerit
 Quod est deus
Non negas quibus est in bonis
 Ex sese placidus
 Signatus in deum
 De sic in unigenita deo
 hoc ipsa opus
 a uod genitum est corpus
O felix diuini unigenitus

Aliter quod cum sit
 in uerit inaccessibilis
 unum sic facimus diu
 Sicut in duobus
 cum quod est in accessibilis
Patet sed genitum patet
 Omne quod aduocatum
 dationis manet
 Et scire non est aduocatum
 Quod uerit se se
 Quipatet est patet
Quoniam est genitum in bonis
 Nam constitutum
 Inaccessibilis deo
 Conditus qui pignus spiritus
 Eritum in ueritum
 Tempore patet
Rebus anathema est
 euncat nam pignus
 Omnia facit sunt
 Eritum cum nichil a modo
 mandatum corpus
 Conditum in spiritus
Sed nos hanc non finis
 Quam ad genitum
 Conditum in deum
 Eritum quod aut sunt loqui
 euncat qui nuncium
 Nam qui est deus
Te euncat deum modis
 Eritum in genitum
 Et euntis glori
 Uerit euncat patet conditum

Infelix seuam uestrum
 facium at cepo
 de q; adare um
 In corpus affuit
 Gaudet pendente
 caput ligno cu' crucis
 ubi que' membra
 fuit elatus undique
 hanc sumis anas popu'
 tanq; pphr
 spuat flagella
 Incaus celsa latitudinis
 Ibar adunpho motum
 sumptu motu
 Et in festo uinct
 Regno nesciat
 Rudentis fructu
 sanguis pollidet e' l. q
 pugnat q; nesciat
 flaget hon se festu
 Lux opore uast
 Noctis splendor infertum
 tremat ex alq; cultos
 sauis acceptat
 mox et panam
 Senas lege cu' aue
 dm cum cepus
 subdedit qbr
 Non est caducum
 corpus illud quod aeternus
 nullu q; in illo
 lus habet co'pore
 Omis at uincat cepus

nre instaurat
 nauata cepus
 Est conuocat cu' do
 Per hanc in alios
 secundam hanc cu' meo
 celos resurgens
 glorioso corpore
 Quasi pphr
 spectat xpm credidi
 Insequi auctus me
 p cepus suscepit
 Renat sum omne
 leat exordia
 nouis q; uiuo
 xpianae legibus
 Sanctus phanis munit
 pstat hoc de
 Conformi secu' uiuat
 post hec co'pore
 Tector pcedat motus
 tandem motus aue
 diuine l. xam
 pphr suscepit
 Uuam locat post hanc
 in celis
 di sedet cepus
 cepus a deat
 Xpe pphr celos
 uicor in auct
 auctu cepus
 laque natus est me
 Vmos phanis

In hoc seculum
 psallam corpe
 Z clauat olim me
 In moras sacras
 regnare. Ceterum
 atcum atq; seculi
 F I N I T
 Iam a h. v. s.
 A de corpore glori
 e caruere possit
 In celis iustum adam
 concinnamus ptocha
 p que pimum sacras
 edem uicatus in nouo
 H ois fallere seculu
 e dicit moras atq; se
 lam consilis atq; in ope
 uipenis consue
 nichil ad salutem pte
 ite humane seculi
 Graude atq; gaude atq; p
 gaude sanis uicame
 gaude falsis gaude atq; p
 gaude belli sanguine
 gaude est condicor
 ignoscere genib;
 I nate carnatu di
 nre claudis funge
 de audire in excelsis
 nunq; gloiam
 & In aetere peccat hominu
 uoluntate opime

app. dicit anglos
 latus iste predicans
 atq; xpm atq; nouu
 nunq; n pastoribus
 magnu popu hinc fuisse
 deservens gaudium.
 E tate pteat Induissat
 atq; seculu an xus
 quere audire & quis hinc
 atq; dignus nunq;
 nichil ulatque quare comunit
 atq; otau conuenit
 C etur atq; his qd iohannis
 Induissat pteat
 atq; messianu in iohannis
 canent poenitentem
 quam sequatur confessor
 ommium remissio
 nate auctat que frequenter
 metgebantur accipit
 uoce celo predicantem
 m est hic dicit
 hanc audire hinc dilectus
 In quo michi complace
 C etur homine etur corpus
 quod adde plex erat
 nichil ulatque uox honori
 atq; seculu desuper
 seut atq; tenam sub laetate
 moras legi o hymen
 A d atq; tenam mulat atq;
 pteat fraudes com moue
 quere audire atq; pteat qd se

DATE DUE

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